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INCLUDING

Structure of Urban Local Government in India
by Mohit Bhattacharya

Service Commissions and Constitutional Change in the Caribbean
by Sir Fred Phillips

Rural Development Planning in Swaziland
by Eric Smith

Pressure Politics in Panchayats
by Prabhu Datta Sharma

BOOK REVIEWS
by Sir Harold Banwell, Claude Wallis, Sir Kenneth Blackburne, C. V. Raghavulu, Sir Ralph Windham

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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J

V

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Contents

Editor's Notes 349

Structure of Urban Local Government in India, *by Mohit Bhattacharya* 351

Service Commissions and Constitutional Change in the Caribbean, *by Sir Fred Phillips* 358

An Exercise in Rural Development Planning in Swaziland, *by Eric Smith* 367

Pressure Politics in Panchayats: a Case Study, *by Prabhu Datta Sharma* 378

The Institute of Public Administration, Malawi *by C. A. Baker* 389

Quarterly Notes 396

Book Reviews 402

Other Books Received 411

Editor's Notes

In 1966 this Journal acquired a new format and a new title, and we have sought in this guise to provide as wide a geographical coverage as possible to the many varied problems of administration facing Governments overseas at central and at local level.

The time has come, we feel, to review progress. Some kind comments have been made on the quality of the Journal, but we have lacked the criticism which is always good for one. We would like to improve the Journal, to broaden its appeal and, it goes perhaps without saying, to increase the number of our subscribers. To these ends we would welcome the comments, suggestions, criticism – however frank and forthright, from any of our readers who may care to write, in MS or typescript, however briefly, to the Editor.* Are we providing the kind of articles which are most suitable? Should we give increased attention to social development, to land reform or to any other particular problems? Do Quarterly Notes provide the right sort of information? Are 'Statements Worth Noting' worthwhile? Would a 'letter to the editor' section be an asset? These are some of the points upon which readers views will be much appreciated.

We publish in this issue two articles on India, one in which the author is somewhat disheartened at the slow pace of urban development and one which provides a heartening example of rural progress achieved against heavy odds. Mr. Bhattacharya looking at the structure of urban local government sees state government reluctance to devolve power to municipalities, civic apathy on the part of town dwellers, and a concentration of government attention on rural areas whence state and national political leadership is largely drawn. While urban local government service conditions are now being improved, he believes that urban government reform will be a slow process.

Mr. Sharma provides a Case Study showing how a new project for a village granary encountered the serious opposition of local vested interests – opposition which was eventually overcome by the determination, patience and political acumen of the elected chairman of the *Panchayat*. This story deserves to be widely known so as to encourage local leaders with zeal for reform not to be daunted by their opponents, but to press on with schemes for the betterment of their villages.

Writing with wide administrative experience in the Caribbean, Sir Fred Phillips in his article on Service Commissions in the West Indies, points out the differences and anomolies that exist in the present arrangements for various states, the problems that face the smaller islands in particular, now that the Federation has broken up, and the need for more United Nations assistance in meeting the needs for staff training and recruitment. He believes that Public Service Commission chairmen should be full-time and that the example of New Zealand is one which could be followed with advantage in the new states of the Caribbean.

**Address*: The Editor, Journal of Administration Overseas, Ministry of Overseas Development, Eland House, London, S.W.1. Readers are requested to respond to this invitation not later than the end of July.

Mr. Eric Smith describes an administrative training exercise undertaken by trainees at the Swaziland Staff Training Institute. Following a course of lectures the trainees were sent into the field, in teams, to learn in the most practical way with the villagers themselves, the problems of development planning in the rural, conservative, African countryside. This was a training project not a planning rehearsal (a team of specialists would have hesitated at drawing up a long term development plan after one short visit to a village area) and the experience must surely stand the students in good stead when they have to tackle rural problems on their own in the years ahead.

Finally Mr. Baker brings up-to-date the latest developments at the Institute of Public Administration, Malawi now a College of the new University, and at the newly founded government 'Staff Training College'. These do not seem dissimilar from those existing in Northern Nigeria as between the Institute of Administration at Zaria and the Staff Development Centre, Kaduna.

Structure of Urban Local Government in India

by MOHIT BHATTACHARYA

Mr. Bhattacharya is Senior Research Officer, The Indian Institute of Public Administration.

UNLIKE countries such as France where a uniform local government system prevails, India has evolved different structures of local government for rural and urban areas. In recent times, much has been written on the Indian *rural* local government system. Especially after the inauguration of the system of local government known as *panchayati raj* considerable research and investigation have been undertaken into diverse aspects of the newly evolved system. Comparable interest in urban local government studies in India, is, however, conspicuously absent. A few articles do, of course, appear, few indeed compared with the spate of material on *panchayati raj*, and the small number is particularly disappointing in view of the importance of the problems of urbanisation arising from the planned development of the national economy.

In India there seems to be an inverse relationship between growth in urbanisation and consequent aggravation of urban problems, and the amount of inquiries and research into them. The system of elective urban local government which was established during the middle of the last century has remained largely static, although it stands badly in need of repair and renovation. Even the most optimistic observer would express concern about the system's performance and call for thorough examination and suitable reforms.

Urban local government in India was a British innovation. As Hugh Tinker remarks, "The English were certainly not laggard in endowing their Indian territories with self-governing institutions. Madras received a municipal charter investing the town with the machinery of representative government a full one hundred and fifty years before the same privilege was extended to Manchester. If this was to some small extent due to extraneous issues in Stuart royal policy, there was no hidden reason for the drafting of Act X of 1842, which sought to establish municipal committees in India only seven years after the Municipal Corporation Act, introducing the principle of representation of urban ratepayers had become law in England."[1] The two principal forms of urban local government, the municipal corporation and municipal council,[2] came into being in the nineteenth century. The Corporation form was ushered in by the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act, 1888. Strikingly enough, although the working of urban local government has frequently been subjected to severe criticisms, the structural patterns of the two types have remained almost unchanged. Under the Union constitution, local government is a State subject, and constitutionally the states are free

[1] Hugh Tinker, *The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma*, University of London, 1954, pp. 333—4.

[2] The municipalities are differently called in different States. Throughout this paper, the name "municipal council" is used for the sake of uniformity.

to tinker with the structures of their local government units. In the rural sphere, the states have actually exercised their freedom by making changes in the *panchayati raj* system in response to local needs and circumstances. But there is a surprising degree of uniformity among the states to maintain the *status quo* in the sphere of urban local government. It will be pointed out later that some of the states did attempt to introduce structural changes in urban local government, but they had soon to abandon the experiment and revert to the uniform pattern.

Present Pattern

The Rural-Urban Relationship committee of the central Ministry of Health and Family Planning which reported last year gave the following figures of urban local bodies in India.

TABLE I

Urban Local Bodies in India[3]

Types	*Number*
(*a*) Municipal corporations	25
(*b*) Municipal councils	1,487
(*c*) Cantonment boards	62
(*d*) Notified Area committees	164
(*e*) Town Area committees	327

Source: *Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee* (Vol. 1), Ministry of Health and Family Planning, Government of India, 1966, p.55.

Although Table I shows five types of urban local bodies, only the first two can be considered as fully fledged representative urban local government. The cantonment boards are governed by the Cantonments Act, 1924, which is central government legislation. The cantonments are military stations that grew up during the British regime for historical reasons. Even today, these are controlled directly by the central Ministry of Defence. In each cantonment, there is a cantonment board which is partly elected and partly nominated and its key officials such as the medical and engineering personnel are drawn from the military on an *ex-officio* basis.

The notified area committees which exist in eight states and one union territory represent a stop-gap arrangement for areas which are fast developing as new urban areas but which are not yet ripe for municipalisation. The members of these committees are all nominated by the state governments which vest the committees with specific powers in accordance with the provisions of the prevailing municipal Acts.

In six states and one union territory there are town area committees the members of which are usually nominated, or partly nominated and partly elected. Generally, such committees are set up for small towns and entrusted with limited local functions.

The municipal corporations and municipal councils had their basic

[3] Aside from these, there are improvement trusts, water and sewerage boards, and housing boards which are differently constituted special purpose authorities.

structures laid down in the nineteenth century, and remain essentially the same to this day. The corporation form is usually found in the principal cities. In general, the corporations enjoy wider powers and more autonomy than other municipal councils. A distinctive feature of the corporation system is the statutory distribution of powers among three co-ordinate authorities, the corporation council, the commissioner and the standing committees. The council consists of popularly elected representatives. The commissioner who is the head of executive administration is appointed by the state government. The standing committees derive their powers from the Act itself and/or through delegation by council. The mayor who is the head of the corporation has no executive powers. It is the commissioner who, as chief executive officer, supervises the day-to-day administration of the corporation. Another important feature of the bigger municipal corporations, such as Calcutta, Delhi and Madras is the existence of sub-municipal units called borough committees in Calcutta, zonal committees in Delhi and circle committees in Madras, to which are delegated many of the purely local functions such as vaccination, registration of births and deaths, cleansing of streets and other local improvement works.

It is evident from the above discussion that the corporation system is designed to separate the deliberative and executive functions. The council is the deliberative wing and the commissioner is in charge of executive responsibilities. All the municipal corporations in India are uniform in this respect. Unlike the municipal corporations, the municipal councils which are commonly found in urban areas have, generally speaking, an integrated structure. The chairman, who is head of the deliberative wing which is the council, is also the chief executive. At present, however, the trend in almost all the states is towards making statutory provision for the appointment of executive officers responsible for day-to-day administration. The committee system is widely in use, although the number and pattern of committees are not uniform throughout India. Some committees are mandatory, some are optional, and there are still others which are *ad hoc* in nature.

Personnel

The service conditions in Indian urban local government are, generally speaking, far from satisfactory and as a result urban local bodies have not been able to attract suitable personnel to run the machinery of government efficiently. The municipal corporations are better off in this respect, as the commissioners of corporations are appointed by the state governments and they are invariably top-ranking state officials belonging to the all-India service. In addition, there are high-ranking state officials who are sent on secondment to work as deputy commissioners or to fill in other top positions. But similar arrangements have not been made in the case of municipal councils. The state of Madras which has developed a system of state-appointed municipal commissioners for the municipal councils, is an exception to this general pattern. In recent times, however, most of the states have made provision for the appointment of municipal executive officers to look after regular administration under the general control and supervision of the municipal chairman.

As regards technical officers and all other staff, the general pattern is the

individual personnel system of each urban local body. In consequence, these bodies have found great difficulty in getting suitable personnel such as public health engineers, medical and health officers, town planners and so on. The pay-scales and other service conditions in municipal government have failed to attract qualified officers. Chances of promotion are remote in a local body, nor is there any prospect of transfer since there is no unified local government service. Thus, the very image of service in a local body has in most cases discouraged the entry of suitable personnel.

The state governments are now very much concerned about the condition of municipal services and are taking steps to improve the situation. As I have already indicated, most of the states are now making provision for the appointment of municipal executive officers. To regularise the recruitment of senior and middle level municipal personnel, the state public service commissions have been used in some states. The system of integrated service for technical posts such as municipal engineers, and health officers has been adopted in a few states. Under this system, the officers are recruited for the requirements of the state government as well as the municipal corporations and municipal councils, and they may be posted either to a state department or to any of the urban local bodies. Also, there are limited instances of states that have introduced a system of unified municipal service for specific posts under which the officers are transferable from one municipal authority to another. The general trend seems to be to organise an integrated service system for the technical posts only. Whatever systems are worked out in future, it is already quite clear that no urban local authority can attract properly qualified personnel unless service conditions including scales of pay, prospects of promotion, job security and other service benefits are considerably improved.

Finances

An account of urban local government will be incomplete without a discussion on their finances. It is frequently observed that it is the desperate financial condition of the urban local bodies in India which is the root cause of their weakness and inefficiency. A full-scale discussion on municipal finance is not possible within the scope of this paper and we can highlight some of the important problems only. The source of income of the municipal authorities are revenue from specific taxes, grants-in-aid from the state governments, and non-tax revenues from fees, fines and municipal enterprises such as city transport, markets, etc. A recent inquiry shows that "the urban local bodies derive about 66 per cent of their ordinary income from tax revenues, about 21 per cent from non-tax revenues and 13 per cent from grants-in-aid"[4]. The major taxes levied by most of the urban local bodies are (i) taxes on property including general rate and service taxes for water supply and drainage, lighting, garbage disposal etc.; (ii) octroi[5] on the entry of goods into a local area for consumption, use or sale therein; (iii) taxes on animals and vehicles; and (iv) tax on trades and callings. Although, income from

[4] *Augmentation of Financial Resources of Urban Local Bodies*, Report of the Committee of Ministers constituted by the Central Council of Local Self-Government, November 1963, Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1965, p. 140.

[5] This tax is not levied by all the States. The exceptions are Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Kerala, Madras and West Bengal.

taxation constitutes the mainstay of urban local finance, municipal tax administration has been far from satisfactory. The following extract from a recent committee report depicts the situation very vividly:

"The municipal councils have generally been averse to levying fresh taxes or enhancing the rates of existing taxes. From a study of the tax structure of 100 local bodies, it appeared that as recently as 1962–63, 21 per cent of the local bodies were levying no property taxes, 54 per cent were levying no service taxes, while about 27 per cent were levying no vehicle tax. The Committee on Augmentation of Financial Resources of Urban Local Bodies has also reported that in 1960–61, 35 per cent of municipalities in Gujarat, 18 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, 38 per cent in Punjab, 83 per cent in Rajasthan and 40 per cent in Uttar Pradesh were levying neither property tax nor any of the service taxes. In Rajasthan, the levy of house tax, tax on professions, trades and callings and octroi are by law obligatory and their rates have been fixed by the state government but many local bodies are not collecting the house tax or the tax on professions, trades and callings. In Assam and Kerala, the municipal law provides for the levy of a duty on transfer of property, but no local body has used this source of revenue. Even where taxes are levied the rates fixed are kept low and the incidence of municipal taxes falls unevenly on different sections of people."[6] The administration of property taxation which is the most important source of municipal income in many of the States, remains highly unsatisfactory. In the absence of a central valuation agency, assessment is often vitiated by local political considerations. Furthermore, tax collection is often grossly mismanaged as a result of which many of the urban local bodies are found in heavy arrears. In some of the states, not even half of total municipal tax demand is collected.

State grants-in-aid have not assumed a significant proportion of municipal income so far in India, although state control is considerable. Only recently, the States of Gujarat, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh have introduced detailed grants-in-aid systems. In all other states, grants are made on an *ad hoc* basis, depending on the condition of state finances.

Municipal income from non-tax sources is also meagre. Most of the remunerative enterprises such as road transport, electricity etc. are generally speaking, exploited by the state governments themselves, and the urban local bodies have not been forward-looking enough to tap other sources such as milk supply, hotel-keeping, land development and so on.

Most of the municipal bodies have low *per capita* income which stands in the way of their providing even the basic civic amenities. A recent survey made by the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee[7] reveals that during 1962–63, most of the municipal corporations studied had an annual *per capita* income of less than Rs.30/– or £1 10s. 0d. (approx). The figure was as low as Rs.2/– or 6s. only, in the case of smaller municipalities. Evidently, such municipal authorities exist in name only.

Role of State Governments

Constitutionally, local government is a state subject in India. A long tradition of centralized administration coupled with this constitutional

[6] *Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee*, Vol. I, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, Government of India, June 1966, p. 89.
[7] *Report*, op. cit., p. 86.

position has led to considerable state control over municipal administration Also, the rigour of state control is, in no small measure, attributable to the almost incurable weakness and inefficiency of municipal government, and a pathological indifference of the urban citizenry to municipal institutions generally.

The municipal bodies are creatures of state laws and as creators the states have powers to delimit and alter their jurisdiction, effect mergers and even extinguish them. State control extends to almost every aspect of municipal administration such as finances, staff appointments and dismissals, sanctioning of major projects and performance of even ordinary functions. Control is strictest in financial matters and elaborate rules and regulations have been framed for this purpose. The budgets, for instance, are submitted to the state governments for approval, and there are auditors appointed by the state governments to audit the municipal accounts. Besides, the states have powers of inspection and supervision, powers to call for reports and returns, to take action in default, and to suspend execution of municipal orders and resolutions. In case of incompetence or persistent default in the performance of duties, the state governments have powers to supersede the municipal bodies and appoint administrators to manage their affairs.

The role of the state governments is of crucial importance in promoting healthy growth of the urban local bodies. But the situation today is not very much different from what the Simon Commission observed about thirty-seven years ago: "Where spur and rein were needed, the ministers were given only a pole-axe."[8] This is also confirmed by the observation of a recent committee report that "the techniques of supervision and control in India – specially in the urban areas – have remained rather static, unimaginative and negative."[9] The wanton use of drastic punitive measures which include removal of elected members and supersession of municipal administration, testifies to this state of affairs. However, many of the state governments are now in the process of setting up directorates with requisite personnel for maintaining close contacts with the municipal bodies and offering them necessary and timely guidance and advice. Some states have already introduced grants-in-aid codes to systematise state grants to the municipal bodies. Also, to solve their personnel problems, many states have either adopted or are planning to introduce an integrated system and/or a unified service. Still, these efforts are rather slow in coming and patchy in nature.

Summing up

Although urban local government has long been in existence, it cannot be said to have attained adulthood even today. Prior to Independence, the steady growth of the municipal bodies was not possible primarily because of the overwhelming importance attached by national leaders to the cause of political freedom. In the post-independence phase, major attention was paid to the urgent nation-building activities such as planning and economic development. It is true that the first conference of the State Local Self-Government Ministers was convened by the Union Ministry of Health as early as 1948, and six years later the Central Council of Local Self-Govern-

[8] Quoted in Tinker, *op. cit.* p. 142.
[9] *Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee*, op. cit., p. 117.

ment had come into being. But, constitutionally local government being a state subject, the states have not been over-enthusiastic about improving urban local government in spite of intermittent proddings by the central government. It is significant to note that the newly evolved system of rural local government known as *panchayati raj* is a creation of the central government. Similarly, radical reforms in the sphere of urban local government will perhaps await an accidental burst of reforming zeal on the part of the central government. Even then, with different political parties in power in the states and at the centre, it may not now be very easy for the centre to push through a scheme of reform.

The responsibility for stimulating the municipal bodies and helping them grow as local self-governing institutions falls primarily on the state governments. But, as already mentioned, the attitude of the states towards the municipal bodies has been largely static and negative. After Independence only two states, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, attempted unsuccessfully to make organisational changes by introducing the system of direct popular election of municipal presidents (Chairmen). The experiment in both the states was short-lived and they had soon to go back to the old conciliar system with the president/chairman being elected by the councillors from among themselves. Apart from this, no fresh attempts were made by any of the state governments to introduce changes in the structure of urban local government. However, as pointed out earlier, many of the states are now trying to improve the staffing pattern of the municipal bodies and some states such as Kerala, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh have regularised state grants to the municipal bodies on the basis of certain principles.

In a predominantly rural country like India, it is too much to expect radical reforms in urban local government within a short period. The state legislatures and the national Parliament are dominated by rural politicians who are naturally immersed in rural development problems. Also, the general poverty of the country and competing demands on resources stand in the way of liberal income transfers from the higher level governments to the local bodies.

Last but not least, urban local government is also impoverished by the general apathy of the urban communities, and it may not be an exaggeration to say that there is hardly any perceptible demand for urban local government. In a new democracy there remains a tendency to integrate all the levels of government—due perhaps to the reluctance of upper level governments to part with power. When to this is added citizens' indolence and apathy, such a situation is hardly conducive to the steady and healthy growth of local self-government. Perhaps India is passing through a critical phase of political evolution which is affecting the growth of local government, both rural and urban, equally.

Service Commissions and Constitutional Change in the Caribbean*

by FRED PHILLIPS

Sir Fred Phillips is Governor of the State of St. Christopher/Nevis/Anguilla.

SERIOUS problems are nowadays posed by the adjustments which administrations must of necessity make as a result of constitutional change. There is no doubt that the process of adjustment is a major one and that a great deal of tension can be caused through failures to adjust. The object of this paper is to illustrate – mainly by reference to the insular localization and management of the civil service – the problem as seen in the British Caribbean and to suggest some means of meeting it. Although references will be made to Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados, the paper is mainly concerned with the Caribbean territories which are not yet entirely self-governing, the West Indies Associated States of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla and St. Lucia as well as the Crown Colonies of St. Vincent, Montserrat and the British Virgin Islands.

Civil Service Staffing Position in Caribbean Territories

The Federation of the West Indies which was inaugurated in April 1958 comprised Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla and Montserrat. The federal civil service was staffed by officers from all these constituent territories as well as by civil servants from British Guiana (as it then was). The federal Public Service Commission was also drawn from these territories. Up to the time of federation, there was a considerable degree of interchange of staff as between one territory and another.[1] From the inauguration of the Federal Government of the West Indies in April 1958 up to the time the Report of the Federal Public Service Commission for 1960 was written, 326 permanent appointments to the federal civil service had been made, the appointees having been recruited from territories as follows: Antigua 10; Barbados 51; Dominica 6; Grenada 15; Jamaica 36; Montserrat 2; St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla 1; St. Lucia 5; St. Vincent 5; Trinidad and Tobago 156; British Guiana 4; The Bahamas 11; British Honduras 4; and the U.K. and overseas sources 20. After the federation was dissolved in 1962, Jamaica and Trinidad became independent States in that very year to be followed four years later by Guyana and Barbados. In February and March of 1967 Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla became States in association with Great Britain after the manner of Puerto Rico's association with the U.S.A.

* This paper is written in a personal capacity and does not in any way express official views.

[1] See The West Indies: Federal Public Service Commission Report for the year 1960, p. 4.

or the Cook Islands' association with New Zealand – though with no common citizenship as in the case of the last named territories. Under the original federal association it was intended that the Federal Public Service Commission would be consulted in the filling of certain categories of senior staff in the smaller constituent territories in which case the interchange was likely to continue and this did in fact take place. Independence and statehood have brought with them so much civil service nationalism that the interchange which was always so valuable an aspect of public service life in these islands has now virtually ceased to exist. In this wise advanced constitutions have dealt a severe blow to all the civil services in the area. In the past the larger territories would call in the services of multi-competent officers from the smaller territories – officers who would have had much wider terms of reference than their counterparts in the larger islands. An example that springs to the author's mind is the case of the principal law officer from St. Vincent who was promoted from his post of Crown Attorney, St. Vincent, to be Legal Draftsman, Jamaica, shortly after World War II. In his St. Vincent position he was Legal Draftsman, Crown Prosecutor, Crown Solicitor and Attorney General – all rolled into one. In Jamaica he received much higher emoluments for doing a small fraction of the duties he previously performed – although more in depth. In the small territories it used to be fashionable to recruit senior officers from the larger territories with experience, for example, of recent constitutional changes in their former territory which could be used to good account in the smaller territory. All this is now unhappily fast disappearing: as the smaller territories endeavour to fill all posts locally, standards are inevitably beginning to fall. At the same time, self-government is throwing up so many problems that it is impossible to release many senior officers to take well-needed training courses or observation tours abroad. Thus at the time when administration becomes most complex (and therefore when civil servants need most know-how) there is no influx of fresh blood. Even the supply of good calibre officers who were once recruited from Britain has now become very scarce. In the medical field, the St. Kitts Government has for some years been recruiting doctors from Hong Kong; the Antigua Government have been receiving them from Korea; while recently the Trinidad Government has begun recruiting them from the Philippines.

Service Commissions

I now propose to say a few words about the establishment of executive Service Commissions in the West Indies Associated States of Antigua, Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla.[2]

The first problem that one must face in this connection is that such bodies are new and untried. Prior to internal self-rule, under the British administration, public service commissions have been advisory to the Govenor and have been appointed by him usually after consultation with the Chief Minister.[3]

[2] See Chapter VI of the St. Christopher/Nevis/Anguilla Constitution Order 1967 (S.I. 1967, No. 228); chapter VI of the Dominica Constitution Order 1967 (S.I. 1967, No. 226); chapter VI of the Grenada Constitution Order 1967 (S.I. 1967, No. 227); chapter VI of the St. Lucia Constitution Order 1967 (S.I. 1967 No. 229); and chapter VI of the Antigua Constitution Order 1967 (S.I. 1967, No. 225).

[3] See, for instance, sec. 3 (2) of the Public Service Commission Ordinance Cap 242 of the Revised Laws of St. Christopher Nevis and Anguilla, 1961.

The Judicial and Legal Service Commission and the Police Service Commissions were created by Imperial Orders-in-Council and their functions were similarly advisory to individual Administrators.

Under the new constitutional arrangements existing in the four independent countries and in the Associated States since statehood was granted in February 1967, all these three Commissions have in the various territories become executive. But for many years to come there are going to be "teething troubles" as the constitutional provisions fall to be worked out. The reasons for these initial problems can be categorised under the following three heads:-

(*a*) The fundamental break with the past whereby a body previously regarded as advisory and comprising part-time members suddenly becomes a managerial board, but still run by part-time Commissioners.

(*b*) The difficulty of educating the public and the civil service itself about the changed regime.

(*c*) The shortage of personnel to man the Commissions.

A. The Break with the Past

The present author has been exceedingly surprised at the slow rate of adjustment to the new concept of executive commissions in the West Indies Associated States. In the territory of St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla, for example, every effort was made a year ahead of the new arrangements, to prepare civil servants and the general public for the new order. Several seminars were held, the radio was freely used and the Civil Service Association was briefed as fully as possible; and yet there is still considerable confusion as to the true role of the Public Service Commission,[4] of the constitutional position of the Public Service Appeals Board,[5] as to the position of the permanent secretary in the hierarchy and to the chairman of the Public Service Commission *vis-a-vis* civil servants. It is a matter of much surprise to the writer that at this stage some senior civil servants of this State would transmit their applications and petitions for review of their cases to Government House where they expect the Governor in person to deal with them and perhaps even to overrule the decisions of the executive commission! The author is firmly of the opinion that the citizens (no less than the civil service) of these territories have not by any means been weaned from the idea that the Governor or Administrator is still an autocratic authority. Psychologically, they seem to find it extremely difficult to accept the position of their personnel problems being dealt with by a managerial board – the Public Service Commission. If the Secretary of State for the Colonies can no longer adjudicate, surely the Governor should be their last line of defence. So runs the argument – even though there is a Public Service Board of Appeal which can review disciplinary determinations of the Public Service Commission.[6]

In Trinidad the chairman and deputy chairman of the Public Service Commission are whole-time and a similar arrangement exists in Jamaica and Guyana where, however, only the chairman is whole-time. In Barbados all

[4] See, for instance, articles 76-83 of the St. Christopher/Nevis/Anguilla Constitution Order, 1967, *op. cit.*
[5] Ibid. Articles 86-87 inclusive refer.
[6] See under note 4, supra.

the members are part-time, as is the case too in all the Associated States. The writer submits that, if the Commission as now conceived is to carry due weight, at least the chairman should be a whole-time employee. Failing this, the chief personnel officer or director of personnel administration (by whichever name called) who tends in this area to operate as the link between the Commission and the political arm as well as the rest of the service, is likely – wittingly or unwittingly – to usurp the functions of the chairman and of the Commission generally. The difficulty lies in the fact that in most, if not all, of the independent countries in the Caribbean there is uncertainty as to how best to operate the Public Service Commission and its future is at present in a state of experimentation. The two United Nations teams appointed to look into the future of the public services have made recommendations (in so far as the Public Service Commission is concerned) which underline the fact that there is no royal road to the type of Commission and other agencies dealing with the public service in all emergent states and that the matter will have to be tackled pragmatically. Let us look at the recommendations in respect of the two countries.

(*i*) *Jamaica*

The Jamaica Report[7] recommended, inter-alia, that the Public Service Commission should be transformed into a managerial type organisation, strongly staffed and –

"(*a*) responsible for the effective operation of the principle of promotion by merit;

(*b*) assisted by a small corps of well-trained personnel inspectors, working with and through full-time personnel officers in the larger ministries;

(*c*) with direct responsibility for improving the educational standards of the civil service and for promoting a massive in-service training programme of departmental and central courses, etc.;

(*d*) having at its disposal a Pay and Personnel Research Unit, to provide the information necessary for the development of its plans and programmes."

In the view of this team, a full-time Commission should be established in place of the part-time personnel. The following represents the other recommendations of this team with reference to the Commission:

"THAT until a full-time Public Service Commission can be established, the Commission delegate a considerable proportion of its day-to-day activities to a considerably strengthened full-time staff.

THAT the senior staff of the Commission consist of a Permanent Secretary and of three Under-Secretaries.

THAT one Under-Secretary have specific oversight of training throughout the Civil Service; one (who should be a scientific or professional officer with administrative talents) to make the professional and technical grades his particular concern; and the

[7] See Report No. TAO/JAM/6 of 6th April 1965—*Public Administration in Jamaica* prepared for the Government of Jamaica by N. C. Angus, W. P. Barrett and E. Hobstein, p. vi. (United Nations Commissioner for Technical Assistance: Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs).

third to have general conditions of service as his special responsibility.

THAT a system of promotion by merit replace the existing system.

THAT more emphasis be placed on the promotion of study-leave graduates of proved character and management ability as a means of strengthening the Administrative Class.

THAT the intake of administrative cadets be limited to those with a good quality degree.

THAT the Public Service Commission undertake the necessary research to forecast the future personnel needs of the service, particularly in the professional and technical fields.

THAT there be created in the Public Service Commission a corps of personnel inspectors.

THAT the Public Service Commission be given full responsibility for all staff education and inservice training."[8]

The gravamen of the team's recommendations for Jamaica in so far as the functions of the Public Service Commission are concerned were that it should deal with promotion which should be by merit; with training at all levels; with preparing manpower research; and with personnel inspection.

(ii) Guyana

The Guyana Report[9] recommended the creation of a Public Service Ministry responsible to the Prime Minister. This Ministry, it is urged, should consist of the following Divisions:

Proposed	*Replacing*
1. Personnel Division	P.S.C. Secretariat Establishment Division
2. Training Division	Training Division of the Ministry of Education
3. Management Services Division	Organization and Methods Section
4. Division of Common Services	'Housekeeping' units of the P.S.C. Secretariat.[10]

It was further recommended that a Public Service Act should be passed, constituting the Public Service Ministry, setting out its powers and duties and prescribing broad principles over the entire personnel administration field outside the constitutional jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission.[11]

(b) Difficulties in educating the Service and the public

In all the smaller territories the reports of these two United Nations teams have been received with interest. The University of the West Indies and the

[8] Ibid., Annex I, p. 32.
[9] Report on Public Administration in Guyana prepared by the Government of Guyana by G. Burgess and J. K. Hunn appointed under the U.N. Programme of Technical Assistance, November 1966.
[10] Ibid. Recommendation 45, pp. 89—90.
[11] Ibid. Recommendation 52, p. 90.

University of Guyana through their respective Departments of Government have also been for some time now endeavouring to indoctrinate civil servants into the theory that the new service commissions must be managerial boards with one main object – the efficiency and smooth running of the public service machine in the new constitutional situation. But the training is of a general nature and is directed mainly to permanent secretaries and other heads of departments. What is more: the training is inevitably of a specific nature. It is submitted that what is urgently needed is in-service training of a massive kind. It must also be available on the job and it would appear that each territory must sooner or later have an Institute of Public Administration charged with the responsibility of educating the public no less than all grades of the public service. In this connection Barbados has recently appointed a chief training officer who has training assistants in various departments This is the only way of keeping members of the public service under constant training – if there do not exist institutional arrangements.

But if the public is to be included in the training programme, it is important that Premiers and other government ministers understand not only their constitutional rôle but modern personnel policies and objectives. For example, they must come to realize that the old distinction between personnel and establishment is now an anachronism; that there will be no end to administrative congestion unless there is delegation of the whole personnel function as between the Commissions and their members as well as to permanent secretaries; that in the complexities of modern government more and more decentralization is becoming necessary; that no government machine can ever be efficient without continuous review and overhaul by a well-staffed cadre of personnel inspectors and O. & M. experts. Thus the government information machinery must consciously project into its programmes the new ideas and policies affecting the public services in a non-colonial context. An occasional meeting of Premiers with acknowledged experts in the field of public administration would serve a very useful purpose in this connection.

(c) Shortage of personnel to man the Commissions

The author finds it extremely puzzling to understand the restrictions placed upon membership of Public Service Commissions in the constitutions of some of the countries which have recently become self-governing.[12] In the new Dominica constitution, for example, "a person shall not be qualified to be appointed as a member of the Commission if . . . he is, or has at any time during the year proceeding his appointment been a Judge of the Court of Appeal, a Judge of the High Court or a public officer."[13] In the Trinidad independance constitution no person can be appointed to the Public Service Commission "if he holds or is acting or has held any public office within the period of three years immediately preceding such appointment".[14] It seems to be felt in the countries which have adopted this self-denying formula that a recently retired civil servant cannot fulfil the rôle of a public service commissioner, although one would have thought that it is just such a person who

[12] The term 'self-governing' is used here to include the West Indies Associated States.

[13] Article 76(2)(b) of the Dominica Constitution Order 1967 (S.I. 1967, No. 226).

[14] Article 92(3) of the Trinidad & Tobago Constitution Order-in-Council 1962, Second Schedule (S.I. 1962, No. 1875).

can be of the greatest assistance in helping to fashion new ideas on such a body.[15] What makes this provision more unfortunate is that during recent years many competent civil servants have prematurely had to retire on constitutional grounds and can well bring their services to the aid of their former colleagues. It should be of interest to those concerned that in New Zealand, although private citizens are eligible for appointment, not one has in fact been appointed in the whole history of the Public Service Commission since 1912. All members of the Commission serve full-time. They are always senior civil servants whose term of office is deemed to be "continuous public service" for purposes of pension, re-appointment in the state services and entitlement to leave. The writer cannot help feeling that in the West Indies we need to rethink along these lines our ideas on the type of personnel to man our Public Service Commissions. The ideal arrangement would perhaps be a Commission of three full-time commissioners who are or have been senior civil servants and three well experienced persons drawn from industry and commerce who can be part-time. So much for the Public Service Commission.

Judicial and Legal Service Commission

Advanced constitutional status in the West Indies Associated States has also brought problems in the legal and judicial sphere – problems which will, it is confidently expected, disappear in time given good-will and patience. There is now one West Indies Associated States Supreme Court, presided over by a Chief Justice residing in Grenada. Appointment of judges, registrars and magistrates are made by a Judicial and Legal Service Commission comprising the Chief Justice as Chairman; a Justice of Appeal or Puisne Judge as may be designated by the Chief Justice; a person, appointed by the Chief Justice with the concurrence of the Premiers of not less than four of the States, who has been a judge of a court of unlimited jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters in a Commonwealth country; and two chairmen of Public Service Commissions appointed in rotation from the respective States.[16] There is however a curious dichotomy in respect of certain local appointments: for example, a Director of Public Prosecutions is appointed in all the States by the local Public Service Commission after consultation with the Judicial and Legal Service Commission. But the Premier too must be consulted.[17] Exactly what will happen if the Public Service Commission and the Judicial and Legal Service Commission agree on an appointment and the Premier disagrees is not clear. When it comes to disciplinary proceedings concerning a legal officer, for example a Crown Counsel, it is the Judicial and Legal Service Commission which makes the determination after consultation with the Public Service Commission.[18] Only time can tell how these constitutional problems will be overcome; but only goodwill and understanding will ensure their success.

[15] See B. A. N. Collins 'Some Notes on Public Service Commissions in the Commonwealth Caribbean' in *Social and Economic Studies*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, U.W.I., Vol. 16, No. 1 March 1967, for a very able summary of the new rôle of executive Public Service Commissions.

[16] Section 18 of the West Indies Associated States Supreme Court Order 1967 (S.I. 1967, No. 223).

[17] Article 81 of the St. Christopher/Nevis/Anguilla Order (1967, S.I. 228).

[18] Ibid. article 83.

Need for highly skilled legal officers

The likelihood of litigation arising, particularly from the fundamental human rights provisions in our new constitutions, dictates that we should obtain the services of legal officers of the highest calibre; and since the rewards of private practice tend to be more attractive for those lawyers without a special sense of dedication, the states are likely to find that they cannot secure the best lawyers for official service at a time they are most needed. Legal draftsmen, for example, are an extremely scarce commodity at this time and governments will, because of prevailing low salary scales, find it difficult to compete with the larger and more prosperous countries for their services. It is hoped that the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme will assist the governments to secure experts in these fields who can themselves train local officers to take over from them on their departure.

Knowledge of International Affairs

As the author has pointed out elsewhere,[19] perhaps the greatest problem which the new self-governing states face is the adjustment from colonial status to international life. Not only is knowledge lacking of the processes and practice of international organizations, but the available libraries are usually inadequate in material on this subject; civil servants have not given sufficient thought to international problems; and before self-government no one has usually given much thought to training needs for those in the public service who must man foreign service posts. The writer has had an opportunity of observing the doubts existing in this field not only in the West Indies where he held key positions in three training programmes for would-be diplomats but also in East Africa where in the summer of 1964 he was assistant director at a Carnegie Institute for diplomats and chairman of the diplomatic practice section of the course. Happily, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (with the help of the Ford Foundation and other similar organizations) has for some years been performing a signal service in holding regular regional institutes in various parts of the world to enlighten foreign service staff in the problems and practices of international law, international politics and relations generally. So has the United Nations Department of Technical Assistance.

Institutes of public administration will not be carrying out an adequate rôle if account is not taken of international studies in their programmes. It is encouraging to note in this connection that the University of the West Indies has both at the main campus at Mona, Jamaica, and at the Institute for International Affairs at St. Augustine, Trinidad, been paying special attention to this study and it is to be hoped that the governments of all Caribbean territories, but especially of the new Caribbean States, will in

[19] See F. A. Phillips 'The Foreign Service of a Small Independent Country', *Caribbean Quarterly* Vol. 8, No. 3 Sept. 1962: University of the West Indies, p. 168 where the author commented as follows in discussing the problem of training officers for the diplomatic service: "The Government of a country that has been a colony for some centuries is faced with a very serious problem, because he cannot find his precedents in what happened in Canada, the U.S.A. and Britain".

See also F. A. Phillips, "The administrative Problems of an Emergent Federation": *Journal of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada.* September 1961, Vol. IV No. 3, pp. 233—239.

due course see to it that the subject receives attention even in their secondary schools.

Conclusion

There can be no doubt, from the few instances cited in this paper (there are many others that could with profit have been mentioned), that constitutional change which involves more local autonomy also brings administrative problems that are vexed and varied. And yet many territories consider the former and tend not to pay due weight to the latter. In this Development Decade, is it not part of the functions of the United Nations Organization to give technical aid to those former colonial countries which are striving to stand on their own both constitutionally and economically? The author firmly thinks so. He also feels that far more time and money will have to be allocated to in-service training programmes at all levels if the administrative machines in Caribbean emergent countries are to stand up to the pressures to which they will continue to be exposed in the years ahead.[20]

[20] See G. E. Mills "Education and Training for the Public Service in the West Indies" in *Journal of Administration Overseas*, Vol. V, No. 3, July 1966, p. 166. "It cannot be too strongly emphasized that despite their limited resources West Indian governments must regard training as an investment which will ultimately return dividends in more efficient service though it involves short term sacrifices in funds and personnel. Unless serious and concentrated efforts are devoted to training programmes the public services will progressively deteriorate and will eventually collapse." The writer entirely endorses this comment.

An Exercise in Rural Development Planning in Swaziland

by ERIC SMITH

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Preface: (Contributed by J. B. Wilson, Principal, Swaziland Staff Training Institute).

The Swaziland Staff Training Institute opened on 1st September, 1965, at Sidwashini, near Mbabane, capital of Swaziland. It undertakes training of the administrative, executive, accounting, clerical, secretarial and postal cadres which account for less than 600 in a civil service comprising only 2,500 established employees.

There are seven training rooms, of which four are specialized, viz: language laboratory, mock post office, and two typing rooms, accommodating a total of up to 100 trainees, with residence for 36 men and 16 women.

Administrative training has been undertaken with the assistance of visiting staff from the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The first administrative training course held in 1966, consisted of alternating periods of 'block' release and day-release spread over one year covering the following main Subjects: machinery of central and local government, civil services, management, economics and material resources, finance, law and sociology. These made a total of 300 hours, of which 70 were devoted to economics.

The present article describes a 5-day field exercise during which trainees were asked to draft 5-year development proposals for a rural development area.

Main Objects

THE main purpose of this paper is to describe and criticise a field exercise in rural development planning carried out by participants as part of an administrative training course. The practical exercise provides another example of a form of training which has received attention in this Journal before.[1]

It has to be made clear that the exercise was simply a training project. It was unlikely that the attempts to give effect to the resolutions of the "district teams" would be of much direct use.

The most important goal was to bring the participants into contact with development problems in such a way that they would be obliged to think deeply about them. Such thought would be fostered, it was felt, by carefully avoiding any sense of acting under detailed instructions. It was necessary that the participants should make their own decisions.

A second important object was to face participants with the difficulty of deciding what their instructions actually were. The terms of reference

[1] See, for example, *Institutional Training in Africa* (II), by R. E. Wraith, J.L.A.O., Vol. IV, No. 2, April 1965, p. 79 and *Training for the Administration of Development in Kenya*, by C. Fuller and R. Chambers, J.L.A.O., Vol. IV, No. 2, April 1965, p. 109.

needed amplifying from the background documents and from a knowledge of what government policy was trying to achieve. The lectures were designed to be of some help in this. No less important were translating the instructions into action: to get to the area, to carry out what it was decided was meant to be done, to report on the findings and to submit these to 'official criticism'.

Realism was essential to the success of the exercise. This was attained mainly through hard work by government officers behind—and on—the scenes.

The Swaziland Background

The small country of Swaziland (area 6,700 square miles) is tucked away near the southern end of Mozambique, being bordered partly by that country though mostly by the Republic of South Africa. Per capita income in Swaziland is low.[2] The population of about 390,000 is predominantly rural. The great majority of the people are either in paid employment or have been in such employment to a large extent outside the country and the main source of cash income is wage labour. Nevertheless, it is probable that as recently as 1960 from two-thirds to three-quarters of total incomes in the rural areas of Swaziland came from sources other than wages and that most of this non-wage income constituted the value of food produced and consumed.[3] This is a reflection of the dual nature of the economy, based partly on a system of migrant labour. Economic development calls for higher productivity and incomes in both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy. There is a need for movement away from subsistence activities and into economic activities based on specialisation and exchange: this involves an expansion of the agricultural sector of the economy.

The current aims of governmental development expenditure in Swaziland include the raising of the living standards and productivity of Africans, bringing them more into the money economy.

Within the limits of available funds (the other current aim in this field is to eliminate the budget deficit), development expenditure in recent years would not seem inconsistent with this policy.

An analysis of available development funds shows that from 1955 to 1966 there was a heavy emphasis on infrastructure. In each of three development periods covering this period, infrastructure was allocated not far short of 80 per cent of available funds. It would appear that for the years 1966 to 1968, the intention is to reduce the proportion allocated to this type of expenditure by about a half, with substantial increases in the probable allocations to agriculture, education and training and medical services. This shift in emphasis is in accordance with the government's declared new policy for agricultural and rural development.

[2] Swaziland's Gross National Product per capita was recently estimated to be $85 (U.S.), placing the country 114th on a list of 136 countries. See *World Bank Atlas of Per Capita Product and Population* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1966.

[3] See Incomes of Rural Homestead Groups (An Experimental Study) by A. J. B. Hughes. Published as Chapter 8 of: *An Experiment in Swaziland*, edited by J. F. Holleman, (O.U.P. ,1964).

The most important features of the new agricultural plan are the establishment of high potential Rural Development Areas and economically planned Swazi settlement schemes. The plan appears in many respects to lay emphasis on concentration of effort in order to achieve visible results quickly in limited areas. This has obvious advantages for demonstration effects. The rural development programmes, for example, will be concentrated mainly on (a) selected areas of high potential in which there is a responsive demand for progress; (b) people with common interest (for example, co-operatives, farmers' associations, community development projects) and (c) single target campaigns (such as the 'Grow More Maize—Make More Money' campaign).

Preparation for the Field Exercise

The field exercise was to follow a series of background and theoretical lectures and was supported by observational visits to various enterprises in Swaziland. A report was to be prepared by the participants at the end of the exercise.

In a previous block release of two weeks about six months before, participants had *inter alia* attended a short course of lectures in economics. This was largely concerned with public policy and economic development.[4]

The practical exercise took place during a later block release of four weeks from mid June into July, 1966. For the first week, trainees attended lectures in civil services, rural development, community development and law, as well as in economics.

The lectures in economics were designed as a background to the proposed field exercise but by no means as detailed instructions. Difficulties involved in measuring economic growth were outlined with particular reference to a developing country, attention being paid mainly to problems of definition and valuation. In discussing the process of development, special attention was paid to what has been called the agrarian problem. Despite the limited time available, population factors, dealt with in the earlier block release, were again mentioned. To give some concrete form to several of the economic magnitudes and problems discussed, tables of statistics for a number of African countries were distributed to participants. The meaning and nature of an economic plan was discussed and the process of economic planning outlined.

Briefing day opened with a talk on the Swaziland development expenditure proposals, given by the senior assistant secretary for development. Background included the nature of Swaziland's secondary industry—which is mainly concerned with agricultural products; the infrastructure that had been established; the sources of government revenue and outside capital. It was explained that there were two fundamental features of the Swaziland economy:

(*a*) the wide gap in living standards between Swazi and European, and
(*b*) the serious and persistent shortfall in government revenue versus government expenditure.

[4] The syllabus for these lectures was designed by S. Sangweni, Assistant Director of Extension for Swaziland, who also suggested the form that the practical exercise should take. The writer's rôle was that of lecturer and one of the two tutors to the exercise. B. L. Jacobs, Visiting Fellow in Public Administration, U.B.L.S., was the other tutor and director of the course.

The Government's objects therefore included:

(*a*) the raising of the living standards of Swazi, and

(*b*) the elimination of the budgetary deficit within a reasonable period of time.

These objectives are, of course, to some extent contradictory, as was made clear.

The expenditure proposals were introduced with a reminder of how the estimates were built up through departmental heads, the practice of discussion between district teams, chiefs and others, and the necessity for district commissioners to have a sound idea of the needs of their districts.

A description of individual projects was supplemented by some comments on the nature of Swazi animal husbandry and subsistence cropping, the various cash crops grown and minerals mined or potentially valuable (the possibility of a pig-iron works was mentioned). It was explained in discussion that the more profitable use of cattle depended on improved management in this field: for example, the use of stud bulls, the rotated grazing of cattle and their sale. It was agreed that a comprehensive economic plan was needed and it was explained that the necessary preliminary steps, such as the calculation of national income and the setting up of a national accounts framework, were being taken.

After a break there followed the briefing session itself, which was comparatively short. At this stage it was essential that the teams should have some idea of the situation with which they were shortly to be faced, without becoming immersed in detail. This would have made the briefing session unprofitably long: the elucidation of detail can easily turn into requests for particularised instructions, which it was essential to avoid. It can be seen from the briefing documents[5] that participants were divided into groups, each group being assigned to a Rural Development Area. Each group was to place an indicative plan before the people of the area and, in consultation with them, produce a detailed local plan for its betterment. It was also to recommend future steps to be taken and make tentative development targets for the area for the period 1966 to 1968.

Present at the briefing were the secretary for the Central Rural Development Board, other interested government officers, the tutors and the Principal of the Institute and the participants.

The secretary of the Central Rural Development Board explained the nature of the "indicative plans."[6] Doubt was then expressed as to the objects of the exercise. Participants were asked to decide whether they regarded what they were going to do as an exercise or in some other light. The general concensus was that it was an exercise; this was not definitely confirmed and a desirable element of doubt was introduced.

In discussion it was disclosed that the areas were not homogenous, in the sense that neither was under the control of a single chief. The people, who were to be represented by certain individuals, were aware that they were in a Rural Development Area. Participants were then asked whether they were prepared to attempt the exercise and confirmed that they were.

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[5] See Appendix.

[6] These were superimposed on 1:25,000 maps. They were not economic plans in any sense but simply indicated possibilities such as roads, a village site, grazing and arable areas (based on soil surveys).

Three more economics sessions were scheduled for this day: one more before lunch and two in the afternoon.

The first sesssion was devoted to the process of economic planning. The discussion was on a national level and no attempt was made to furnish participants with specific procedures for their own areas.

Finally it was announced that there would be no formal lectures in the afternoon: participants were expected to be deciding on their plans of action. The tutors would be available if required to advise on "purely technical points" but that was all. Despite this announcement, on arrival in the afternoon, participants were evidently awaiting more detailed instructions but these were not forthcoming. Eventually teams began making their own preparations: there was evidence of some delegation of duties and discussion of plans of action.

No organised activity was planned for this week-end following briefing day. It was understood that participants were to leave for their areas on the Monday and were to return to the Institute on the Thursday. Arrangements were made for the tutors and Principal to visit each group in turn to see how they were getting on.

The Field Exercise

The first area visited, Sipocosini, was relatively near at hand, the camp being about eight miles from Mbabane along a good road which ran through the middle of the area as also did the Swaziland railway. The latter is non-passenger carrying, being constructed largely for the transport of iron ore, though already a significant tonnage of other goods is carried. Communications appeared to be good though, according to the briefing documents, internal feeder roads were needed.

A selection of other facts on the area were given in the briefing documents. The 1962 population of Sipocosini was given as 1,600 persons. Lying at an altitude of between 3,000 and 4,500 feet, it was part of the Highveld region of Swaziland. With a reliably distributed rainfall of 50 to 60 inches, a river and numerous springs, it was well watered. There was a possibility of a large national storage dam and it was worth investigating the possibility of small scale irrigation schemes. The area of Sipocosini was just over 17 square miles of which less than 20 per cent was regarded as arable, the rest being mainly pasture land. Farming systems were described as intensive cropping, limited dairying and extensive beef. Crops for consideration included maize, beans, and vegetables. The land was also suitable for afforestation.

When the Principal and tutors arrived on Tuesday morning at the camp, a committee of the people was in conference with the team. The staff were introduced to the people by one of the participants but did not take an active part in the conference. Topics discussed included the fencing of grazing lands and the need for better fencing posts, the provision of plastic pipes in connection with dams, the availability of more loans, and better standards in the school. In connection with the sale of produce a market was required—this was evidently thought of as a physical place. Certain villages had been on a previous occasion moved in connection with the railway construction. Was this to continue and the people "kept hopping"

—or were they to be "given a fixed thing" to do? Where precisely were the new sites of villages which were to be shifted? It was evidently expected that government should decide this. What should be the size of plots and what should be grown there to "suit all requirements"?

It was not possible to assess what were the precise reactions of members of the team to an attitude which was apparently based on a desire to shift on to government's shoulders specific responsibility for physical reorganization, finance and entrepreneurial risks. Nor was it, indeed, possible to assess with confidence that such an attitude was held by the people, plausible as it seems, since discussion was mainly in Swazi and verbatim translation obviously undesirable.

It was eventually decided that discussion should adjourn to a proposed village site, the location of which had been suggested by the Department of Agriculture with regard to soil, communications and possibility of a dam. However, differences of opinion were evident with regard to both siting and layout of the village and an alternative place was suggested by the committee. This was located on what appeared to be good agricultural soil involving, other things being equal, higher opportunity cost in the shape of crops foregone. The people's representatives maintained that their site was more central. Another advantage given was that a couple of buildings, including a shop (owned by a committee member, apparently) already existed there.

The nature of the village itself provoked discussion which gave some insight into problems characteristic of peoples with the socio-economic background of the Swazi. It was intended by government that physical reorganization of a Rural Development Area should be based on land-use planning which would normally provide for "consolidation of the arable, enclosure of the grazing, the establishment of a village for non-farmers, the development of roads . . . all on a self help basis."[7] The non-farmers living in the village at Sipocosini would presumably commute daily or weekly to work nearby.

At this stage the local district commissioner took a good deal of the initiative in discussion and, drawing on his knowledge of a scheme elsewhere, explained how such a village might be planned.

In that case, roads had been laid out and contiguous plots demarcated. Groups of eight residents helped each other to build homes. Loans were made available. The land could be purchased over ten years—though this process would start only when the house was completed. The notion of selling land being unfamiliar in a Swazi area, it was pointed out that there was a need to ensure that the capital in the house was not lost to the builder.

The notion of such a village was evidently unacceptable to several committee members. It was asked: where do the residents "have their land"? An alternative layout was drawn in the dust of the road by a committee member with a stick. This provided every resident with his land—situated between the plots. Another member maintained that the village should consist entirely of business enterprises with no residents at all. Every homestead should be settled next to its fields and there should be a central shopping centre. In this ideal layout land and a sufficient

[7] Swaziland Development Expenditure Proposals, 1965-68, p. 54.

income from it would be available for all. Problems of population growth were largely brushed aside as also were problems arising from the provision of urban services (such as water, power, schools, hospitals, etc.) to a scattered community.

The grazing areas were visited: these lay mainly on the higher ground. It was possible from a vantage point to pick out landmarks and participants, making use of their maps, discussed with the committee various aspects of the indicative plan. Topics, such as fencing and consolidation, were debated in an apparently complete absence of difficulties of the sort which had appeared in the discussions on the village site.

We left Sipocosini the following morning for the second area.

Like Sipocosini, Mahlangatshe is situated in the Highveld region. Just over thirty miles from Mbabane as the crow flies, it was over twice this distance by car, the last fifteen miles or so being over a minor dirt road which, in the absence of rain, was quite passable. Compared with Sipocosini, the area was relatively distant from markets for agricultural produce. Again internal roads required linking up and improving.

The population of Mahlangatshe in 1962, according to the briefing document, was 2,700. Its area was just under 30 square miles—19,000 acres—of which about 3,000 acres was considered to be good arable land, the balance being rugged and rocky. Rainfall was given as 40 – 50 inches per annum. Suggested farming systems were mainly dry land cropping with extensive livestock production, but there was potential for afforestation. Some suggested crops were maize, beans, potatoes and possibly tobacco.

It took longer to reach the scene of activities here. Although supposed to be encamped in the vicinity of the local clinic, the team had, in fact, based itself at the local *Nkhundla*. This was a small village centred on a group of traditional Swazi huts. We accepted the offer of a hut next to that of the team, whose "living space" was separated from ours by high wicker-work windbreaks or screens. In the afternoon we went with the team and the local committee to a dam site. Here we stood, not far from the road, on a flattish low hill which looked down on a small valley and which formed a convenient place for discussion between the team and the people's committee. On the other side of the valley were, to the left, an extensive plantation of trees and, to the right, patches of erosion where cattle were habitually driven down to a dip in the bottom of the valley. There were complaints that the trees were "drinking the water" and a certain amount of discussion related to the dam. This session was followed by a visit to a kaolin mine which, according to the briefing notes, was likely to expand and bring further development. At this time it was operating on a small scale with fairly primitive equipment.

Reports from the Teams

It will be clear that a good deal had been left to the initiative of the participants. Far from their being issued with rigid carefully explained procedures showing step-by-step what they must do, the participants were to a large extent left to their own devices. Principal and tutors had visited the areas mainly for observational purposes.

The way in which the participants would approach their task, the action they would take in the area, what information they would secure or attempt to secure, the way in which they would produce their reports, what they would attempt or not attempt having regard to the time available—an economic problem—was as far as practicable left to their own discretion. This was made clear to the report-back meeting, which took place on the Monday and which was attended not only by the participants and staff but also by a number of senior government officers.

The procedure for the meeting was that each team was in turn to present its report which then would be discussed together. In the event the reports left a good deal to be desired *as reports* but provided excellent bases for discussion. Each team had appointed a secretary who in one case also presented the report on behalf of his team.

From the Sipocosini team came a mineographed report of some 1,500 words which was accompanied by a verbal description of its experiences in the area. The team had assumed that the people know of the government's proposals. In fact it was its impression that the people thought that the team was in some way implementing the plan. The team adopted as *its* aim that the people should produce their own plan and took as terms of reference those given in the briefing document.

The report described physical characteristics of the area, communications, schools, social services (clinics) and types of agriculture, under the headings of animal husbandry and field husbandry. The necessity was stressed for seeking the co-operation of the people and ensuring that they were fully involved in the planning and implementation of proposed projects.

Proposals by the team included:

1. *Resettlement*

   (*a*) Homesteads were to be transferred to sites between grazing grounds and arable land with each homestead directly above its allotted fields. Compensation was to be paid to those affected and government was to assist with this.

   (*b*) A village was to be established at a place suggested by the people and which satisfied certain (listed) requirements. This was not to be established for residential purposes as this "would touch the very core of their traditional rural way of life". The village was to contain only business enterprises and certain buildings such as a post office, clinic, community hall and market place, all to be provided by the community with help from government.

2. *Livestock Improvement*: through the introduction of thoroughbred bulls and the promotion of merino sheep farming.

3. *Irrigation*: the provision of irrigation farming for vegetables. These were to be marketed outside the area, as was increased output of maize and sorghum.

4. *Protection of Springs*: certain springs destined for domestic use were to be protected.

5. *Schools*: certain schools were to be upgraded and extended and staff quarters provided.

Details of estimated expenditure proposed for the next two years was appended, scheduled over each year.

The team which visited Mahlangatshe was able to produce only a considerably shorter written report of approximately 700 words and consisting mainly of a description of the area under the headings of geographical location, population (estimated numbers), animal husbandry (estimated numbers of various kinds of livestock), agriculture (types of crops grown) and social services (state of schools and clinic). The rest of the report was given verbally and was a little disjointed. The people were apparently not in favour of a village site but preferred to live in homesteads scattered along the fringes of the hills. There was a need to improve a certain internal road, more classrooms were needed for schools and extensions to the clinic were required. Some progress had been made on providing fences, financed on a pound for pound basis by the community and the government. The schools were thought to be badly located in that too much travelling by the children was required. More dams were needed. There was a flourishing co-operative in the area, also a women's club. This team regretted that it had not been able to produce any quantitative proposals.

Discussion on the reports was, in the main, critical. Thus it was pointed out that the emphasis should have been more on economic rather than social improvement. There had been little consideration of priorities: proposals were more in the nature of shopping lists than plans. There was a tendency to lose sight of the recurrent implications of capital expenditure and of the fact that economic development took place over a period of time. More than once attention was drawn to the dangers of effecting action by means of what might amount to bribes. For example, compensation for those who moved in accordance with resettlement proposals could be wasted because people might move back again. Action must emanate from the people in response to a perception of the economic advantages of change. Some team members gave their views of certain social aspects of the Swazi, not unfamiliar in the African context and which made it difficult to implement plans. Examples of this were said to be the attitude of Swazi towards livestock, their view of home as being equated with fields and cattle and the probability that they did not want to live in villages.

It was suggested in the summing up that the proposals involved a rejection of all that was thought to be against the "natural inclinations of the people", and reflected the view that the people should simply do a little better what they were already doing in a largely unchanged locality. There was evidence of a lack of perspective, a failure to fit the plans for a rural development area into the whole economy of Swaziland—which again must be fitted into the context of Southern Africa and again into the context of the world economy. Thinking was inclined to be too compartmentalised.

Looked at from the viewpoint of "getting something done" the Sipocosini team was the more successful. The Mahlangatshe team failed to produce any sort of plan. This does not imply that its members failed to gain any (or even more) benefit from the exercise in the sense of some insight into the problems of rural development planning.

It must be said here that any simple assessment of results is not possible. In an essay—set well after the completion of the exercise, all but one of the participants stated that they had benefited from the exercise. But this is

of very limited relevance. Disclosure of the marks obtained for the essays would, similarly, be of little help in assessing the results of the course.

In criticising the exercise it has to be remembered that it was carried out under difficult conditions. Funds and time—both of participants and staff—were limited. It is felt that the main objects of the exercise were probably achieved. Nevertheless, it is suggested that greater success might have been attained.

The teams found difficulty in preparing quantified plans partly because the necessary information on costs was not available. Some hypothetical costs —of roadworks, dams, fencing and various types of buildings for example— might have been made available to them. Teams might have been asked to be more specific as to the nature of the economic problems facing their areas. A little lighter stress might have been laid on the need for plans to emanate from the people and a little heavier stress on the part played by the small committee of experts. The success of the exercise is to be sought only in terms of its training value; however, this may increase with more realism in the plans submitted for official criticism. More emphasis should have been placed on the need for specifying priorities.[8] The latter might have been achieved not only by early stress on the necessity for this but also by putting a definite limit on the amount of funds that could probably be made available by government. This would have to be carefully handled to avoid misunderstanding as to the competence of the teams to recommend action. The problem of introducing the necessary degree of realism is a delicate one.

[8] This suggestion was made by John Davies, Professor of Economics at U.B.L.S., who very kindly read through this paper but bears no responsibility for its final form.

APPENDIX

ADMIN. TRAINING COURSE D/6

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING EXERCISES

BRIEFING:

You have been appointed as groups of District Officers in charge of the two areas listed below:—

Mahlangatshe—Messrs. X, Y and Z.

Sipocosini—Messrs. A, B and C.

You are charged with putting into effect the following resolution by your District Team:—

"Rural Development Areas

It was noted by the Team that the Rural Development Areas had been selected on the basis of information supplied by the Department of Agriculture, as areas of special development potential. The agricultural officer reported that his department had now produced detailed land use plans based on a soil survey and had included tentative suggestions concerning possible sites for roads, bridges, villages, dams, etc.

It was decided that these 'indicative' plans should now be placed before the people and that the district officers and associated field staff should in consultation with the people produce detailed local plans for the betterment of their areas, and make recommendations on the future steps to be taken and tentative development targets for the area for the period 1966 – 68".

Copies of the following background documents are attached. You should study these in your group – *syndicates*, and decide how you are going to tackle this assignment and prepare your plan of action for discussion at the briefing on Friday, 24th June, at 10.15 a.m.:

(i) "Steps to be taken in Selection and Planning or Rural Development Areas";
(Director of Agriculture ST. 60/1966 ref. 169).
(ii) Rural Development Programme 1966 and enclosures. (Director of Agriculture ST. 88/66 ref. 169).
(iii) "Central Rural Development Board: Advice on Procedure at District Level" (Director of Agric. ST. 159/66 ref. 131).
(iv) Copy-Order by Ngwenyama in Libandla No. 4 of 1954 (ST. 3/66).
(v) S.L.A. Circular LA332/2/86 of 18th May, 1966 – "Rural Development Areas"– assistance by Agricultural and Medical departments.
(vi) S.L.A. Circular LA332/2/89 of 13th June, 1966 – Education department.
(vii) List of potential irrigation schemes in the district.

"Indicative" plans will be handed to you at the meeting on Friday. Administrative arrangements for the camps are set out in attached circular 314/6/71 of 13th June, 1966 from S.L.A. to all district commissioners: this is now modified in that there are now only two syndicates operating in Hhohho and Manzini districts respectively: you will note that the syndicates should report to district headquarters at Mbabane, and district office Mankaiana.

To. Course members.

Pressure Politics in Panchayats

A Case Study of Gumnam Panchayat in Rajasthan, India

by PRABHU DATTA SHARMA

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THE three-tier structure of rural local government in the states of the Indian Union is called *Panchayati Raj* in Hindi.* This organizational framework of local institutions consists of panchayats, panchayat samitis and zila parishads at village, block and district levels in an ascending pyramidal manner. The panchayat which is the lowest local unit of government at the village level has a body of five to fifteen panchas and a Sarpancha directly elected for a period of usually three years in most of the states. The state statutes vest the panchayats with specific powers and functions pertaining to socio-economic development of the villages. They operate under the direct supervision and control of their panchayat samitis and the state officials appointed for the purpose. The panchayats have their own personnel and sources of revenue, but much of their income comes from state grants and loans funneled through panchayat samitis.

Most of the panchayats in rural India function in an atmosphere of conservative and caste-oriented tradition. Their political behaviour is gradually becoming partisan with the spread of democracy and education. The processes of modernization have started touching their fringe areas; even so, while some panchayats with progressive political leaders come forward with unconventional measures, there is a resistance from traditional forces and vested interests resulting in strong pressures being exerted on local decisions. This generation of pressure politics is neither very sophisticated nor very articulate, but it influences the processes of local decision-making by political leaders of the community.

The present case study was conducted in a small rural village of Rajasthan, India. The actions described in narrative form are based on fact but in order to protect the people actually involved, fictitious names have been used for the village panchayat, panchayat samiti and zila parishad and all the characters who figure in this case. The methodology adopted was that of personal observation and interviews in addition to reliance on documentary records.

The story shows the pressures generated by a resolution to build a seed centre in a multi-village panchayat. The main consideration in the choice of this particular decision has been that while making up its mind the panchayat encountered some really powerful pressures from various sides, and the local leader, the Sarpancha, faced a double challenge from his colleagues as well as from the community.

Although a case study, the problems of traditionalism, the techniques employed by the vested interest groups, and the factors which negated the political pressures in this case are widely applicable to a large number of panchayats in the State of Rajasthan.

* A glossary of words is provided in the appendix to this article.

Characters

Mr. Ram	... ...	Sarpancha of the Village Panchayat
Mr. Laxman	... ...	Village Panchayat Secretary
Mr. Govardhan	... ...	A Pancha from the adjoining village
Mr. Raghunath	... ...	Younger brother of the Village Priest and a Pancha
Mr. Mohan Lal	... ...	A local Pancha
Mr. Gopal	... ...	Leader of the money lenders
Mr. Sunder	... ...	Leader of the grain merchants
Mr. Prashad	... ...	The Village Priest
Mr. Nathi	... ...	The Patwari (revenue official)
Mr. Lahari...	... ...	The owner of the land where the seed centre building was to be constructed
Miss Shanti	... ...	Daughter of Mr. Gopal
Mr. Tulsi ...	... ...	The School Teacher
Mr. Kishan	... ...	An influential resident of the village

SEED CENTRE TO BE ESTABLISHED IN GUMNAM

On 28th November, 1963, the Gumnam Village Panchayat unanimously passed a resolution:

"Resolved that Panchayat Gumnam will open a seed centre for the procurement and sale of improved seeds to the farmers of the Panchayat Circle. The centre will be opened with an initial capital of Rs. 1000 for which provision shall be made in the 1964–65 Panchayat budget. The Panchayat will recruit its own staff to run this centre and it will be housed in the Panchayat Bhawan at Gumnam Village. The Panchayat Secretary will take necessary steps to see that the centre starts functioning on 1st March, 1964."

It took the Gumnam Village Panchayat exactly seven months and ten days to arrive at this decision, which was the first of its kind since panchayat establishment in 1959. Mr. Ram, the Sarpancha, who was primarily responsible for the initiation and successful piloting of the proposal, raised the issue at almost all of the eight panchayat meetings held during this period. Every time the proposal came up, the Panchas opposed it, and it was deferred for one reason or another. The four Panchas who led the open opposition were no more than tools in the hands of certain village members who were going to suffer by the opening of this centre. These vested interests organized themselves into a powerful pressure group against the progressive forces and held the Village Panchayat at bay by engineering obstructive tactics. This rendered the Panchayat arena a hotbed of political factionalism, group intrigues and pressure rivalries.

Hectic activity generated by pressure politics resulted in hot tempers, heated discussions, personal criticism and public vilification of some leaders, the manifestations of which could be witnessed in the entire working of the Panchayat during this period. But in October, 1963, events unrelated to the actual proposal began to neutralize political pressure. Passions cooled down and soon the situation drifted towards a final compromise. Then very quickly the villagers could see the game which the reactionary elements had played to their cost. This changed atmosphere divided the opposition and

it soon disappeared, with the result that the resolution could be passed unanimously with some members absenting themselves from the Panchayat meeting on that day.

Characteristics of Gumnam Village

Gumnam Village lies in the Benam Block in Number 10 District of Rajasthan. According to the 1961 census it has a population of 1,407 people and 267 families. Though located away from an urban centre, it is on an important highway between two leading towns in the district. This has influenced the traditional culture and manner of living of the people of Gumnam who are mobile and can catch a public bus to district headquarters every fourth hour. The Panchayat Circle of Gumnam includes five more small villages which stand on the periphery of Gumnam within a radius of three miles. My personal experience with the villagers over a long period has suggested that people here are aware of the changing society and also willing to make slow adjustments in the age-old patterns of life. The literacy percentage in the village has not been very high and there is only one middle school with 207 students enrolled. Even the village Panchas have no regular schooling. The Sarpancha, who is retired from the army, gained broader experience of the country during World War II.

Caste Situation

The caste structure of the village is traditional and important in locating and identifying leadership. The family remains the basic unit of leadership and all forces in village life, political or otherwise, rotate around the personality of the family head. Gumnam has one predominant case, the Gujars, who number about 150 families. Other castes such as Meenas and Aheers are smaller in number and could be called allied castes. About a dozen families belong to the Mahajan caste, which sticks to its traditional vocations of small business and money lending. Next in number, though not in importance, are the Balais and Kanjars (scheduled castes) who provide the seasonal labour. There are two families of Brahmins, four Meos (Muslims) two sweepers, one blacksmith, two carpenters and one Sadhu (holy man) in the village. The village is conspicuously lacking any Rajputs and, concomittantly, feudal traditions. Within the major castes of Gujars and Meenas, there are several sub-caste divisons. The Gujars dominate by virture of their numerical strength, economic prosperity, large land holdings, group cohesion and the traditon of their being founders of the village.

Economic Structure

Gumnam is primarily an agricultural community with trading and money lending characteristics. Possession of land in the village determines the status of a family, but gradually money and service interests are being given their due place. The number of landless families in Gumnam is not sizable, but it is remarkable that trade and money lending are pursued by many families not belonging to the Mahajan caste. Next to farming, cattle breeding is the most important subsidiary occupation and milk is sold in the nearby towns. The community is not poor by the standards of Indian villages in general, and cash is not scarce. Most homes in the village are made of brick

and many young men and women wear ornaments such as earrings, silver-necklaces and ivory bangles. Still the number of villagers in debt is quite large and they are in the habit of borrowing money from village money lenders for unproductive purposes such as marriage dowries, death feasts, etc. The availability of regular means of income has made the inhabitants of Gumnam an optimistic and ambitious people who are often involved in conspiracies and cliques against one another.

Introduction of the Seed Centre Idea

On 18th April, 1963, the Sarpancha of Gumnam Panchayat, Mr. Ram, looked for some reaction by making casual mention of a seed centre in the village after the formal Panchayat meeting was over. Perhaps (as he later confided to the author) he had no definite plans or any rigid position about the matter. Actually he was just curious to know the general consensus in the village; he was happy to notice that the idea was generally appreciated and the Panchayat members reacted enthusiastically.

The second Panchayat meeting, held on May 20, 1963, was well attended by villagers, and had the proposal for the seed centre on its regular agenda. The Panchas made specific queries about the location, functions and finances of the proposed seed centre. The Panchayat secretary, Mr. Laxman, indicated possible sites for consideration and maintained that the main functions of the seed centre would be to procure improved seeds for all sorts of crops, to store and house them in a godown (granary), and sell them to the villagers on a cash basis with requisite information and instruction about their use. The Sarpancha assured the Panchayat that he would try to get a special grant from the higher Panchayat Samiti for initial expenditure and would like to make it a self-sufficient project in the future, on the basis of a large clientele. All the members present showed a keen interest in it and discussed the plan informally, after the Panchayat meeting, in their homes with their friends and neighbours.

The Opponents

News of the proposal for a seed centre began to spread around the village; three types of people were sceptical and even alarmed – first, the vested interests, represented by the grain sellers and the money lenders; second, those with personal vendettas against the Sarpancha, and third, conservatives who were opposed to any change. The Mahajans, or traders, traditionally had been selling seed grains to the farmers for centuries. In the opening of the centre they saw the impending ruin of their trade and all of them immediately felt like organizing to fight this move of the Panchayat. They immediately contacted the money lenders, who were equally concerned with the project. The money lenders knew that the village Panchayat would advance seed grains on credit; their clients who had been borrowing from them for generations at every season would stop. Messrs. Sunder and Gopal, leaders of the grain merchants and money lenders respectively, read their commercial death warrant in this proposal of the Panchayat.

They made a further search for villagers who could support them in their opposition and who were influential enough to lobby in the Panchayat. These persons numbered three in Gumnam. One was Mr. Lahari, an old

farmer on whose piece of land the Panchayat planned to construct the new seed centre building. The second person was the village Patwari, Mr. Nathi, who had had a long series of quarrels with the Sarpancha and was willing to throw his weight behind anything which would sabotage the efforts of the Sarpancha and his Panchayat. The vested interests and reactionary elements immediately joined hands. In their search for an influential leader to campaign against the proposed centre, they found the village priest, Pandit Prashad, who was opposed to all change and progress. As time elapsed, the representatives of the traders and money lenders organized informally and willingly handed over the leadership of their opposition front to the reactionary priest and the Patwari who had some influence with the people.

Decision Postponed

At the next Panchayat meeting held on 26th June, 1963, the opponents took their seats on the Panchayat floor in the first row. They also informally contacted the Panchas at their homes and exhorted them on the necessity of postponing a decision for some time by staying neutral or non-committal. In the meeting Messrs. Gopal and Sunder asked all sorts of questions of the Sarpancha and tried to filibuster. They challenged the nature of the project and called it ambitious and a waste in the context of other primary village needs. The two Panchas who had actually borrowed from the money lenders stayed absolutely quiet in the meeting. One other Pancha, a younger brother of the Priest, Mr. Prashad, could not muster courage to say anything in the presence of his elder brother. The Sarpancha vigorously defended his scheme by elaborating on the plan, but the opposition created a scene with the result that the meeting had to be adjourned in the midst of considerable confusion.

The Opposition Campaigns

Now the rumours began to circulate that the seed centre scheme was a joint conspiracy of the Sarpancha and his Panchayat staff. An active campaign was launched by the opposition in evening get-togethers and after morning prayers in the temple. The Priest, Mr. Prashad, inaugurated a canvassing campaign on behalf of opposition groups by appealing to the religious sentiments of illiterate villagers. He said, "Crops are a gift from God; how can mortal human beings expect to increase or improve the quality of crops by selling some seed grains." This argument was appealing and older villagers echoed the Priest with reverence.

The traders informally but actively opened a "Fight the Seed Centre" scheme in the quiet corners of their grocery shops. They personally visited their friends belonging to other castes and spread the rumour that the state government had directed all the sarpanchas to collect funds from the poor and ignorant villagers through these seed centres, to fight against the Chinese. They accused the Panchayat administration of bluffing innocent villagers and working as agents of those politicians who had not cared for the security of the country before the Chinese advanced in 1962. Money lenders met their creditors, and through them impressed on the community that credit advances to be given by the seed centre would ultimately have to be repaid at high interest rates, and if they failed, to have repressive action by the police

administration would ruin their lives and the lives of those yet to be born.

The Patwari, Mr. Nathi, whom all the villagers wanted to placate, told his friends that such a thing had never been tried in the past, and that villagers should not permit their so-called leaders to experiment with their poverty and hapless condition. Mr. Lahari, who was going to lose his piece of land, was too old to pick a quarrel with the Sarpancha, but nonetheless he was interested in the livelihood and future security of his only son, aged fourteen years. He invented a queer but very effective argument. He clothed his opposition with superstitution. Giving a warning to his friends, he said "You know, this is an unlucky piece of land. I have lost my wife and three children since I purchased it. Remember, seeds stored on this ground are destined to fall on a barren soil."

Thus all the opponents created a stir in the village. Gradually even their frivolous arguments began to sound convincing. All of them charged the Panchayat leadership with bad intentions, with planning to create bureaucratic machinery and to profit personally therefrom. They directly attacked the Sarpancha for creating jobs to oblige his friends and to provide patronage for his wife's relatives. Some of them came out with campaigns of personal vilification of the Sarpancha and the Panchayat secretary. They were called inefficient kids who would perhaps tomorrow ask the daughters of the village to become salesgirls in the seed centre. They also contended that harmonious relations among the members of the village family based on the good neighbourliness of mutual borrowing and lending would be spoiled. These arguments became more and more effective and convincing when these men quoted past examples of technical government officers who came with ambitious projects and returned to the cities after failing, at the expense of poor villagers.

The Stalemate

These activities created a very hostile atmosphere against the Sarpancha in the village. Panchas who were not very close to the Sarpancha because of his dominating nature, started joining the crowd. At least three of them openly announced their opposition to the Sarpancha, and a fourth one, Mr. Raghunath, started saying that the need for a seed centre should be given a low priority compared to other pressing needs.

The subsequent Panchayat meetings witnessed an immensely tense atmosphere, where the Sarpancha put up a lonely fight against strong and angry opposition. He invited the Pradhan and the block development officer of the Panchayat Samiti to highlight some benefits of the project and assure the support of the Panchayat Samiti for such progressive measures. The Sarpancha personally explained the advantages of the scheme in the Panchayat meetings and in the community. The Pradhan sent Samiti extension officers to give practical demonstrations and show films about mechanized farming and improved seeds. The Panchayat staff prepared charts and the school teacher and village level workers were requested to counteract the wave of scandalous opposition unleashed by the vested interests. Mr. Tulsi, the School Teacher, who was an old resident of the village, requested the Priest and Patwari to withdraw their support from the anti-seed centre campaign. Even the block development officer spent some

time listening to and trying to convince the leaders who had aroused such mass opposition to the Sarpancha and his supporters.

For five months the situation remained tense and charged with emotion. Both parties made the proposal a prestige issue in determining their power and strength. In response to the negative charges of his opponents, the Sarpancha, Mr. Ram, always advanced positive arguments in favour of the scheme. It sometimes convinced the people, but the organized and systematic bid by the opposition to colour facts and twist arguments often persuaded them to shift ground.

Factors in the Opposition's Success

The success of the opposition group in bringing pressure upon the Panchayat can be attributed to many factors. A general atmosphere in the village created by mass propaganda and fantastic rumours arrayed all the Panchas against the Sarpancha. Perhaps the one great reason the Panchas joined the opposition was their reluctance to come out with their true feelings. In open meetings, well attended by villagers, they could not afford to offend the general consensus created by the opposition. Although two of these opposing Panchas belonged to the majority caste of the Sarpancha, they wanted to stay on good terms with the Brahmins and Mahajans of the village who commanded traditional respect, due to their birth and wealth, by the members of all castes in the community.

As accident would have it, three prominent supporters of the Sarpancha in Gumnam Village were men who were universally disliked by all the people in that area. Two of them had a record of criminal conduct. Their notoriety and earlier behaviour evoked prejudice in the Panchas' minds. The Panchas did not want to risk their future careers by siding with the Sarpancha, just when the opposition was openly taking advantage of a situation that seemed in their favour. One of the Panchas, Mr. Mohanlal, was so seriously committed to the opening of a village Dharmshala (guest house) that he sincerely believed that the seed centre scheme could be postponed in preference to this more urgent need. The Panchas who were debtors to Messrs. Gopal and Sunder naturally did not want to oppose their creditors. Another Pancha, Mr. Govardhan, who came from an adjoining village of the Panchayat Circle, stood with the Sarpancha on the issue, but even he wanted the seed centre location shifted to some central place, where the entire circle could take advantage of it.

Thus the opposition in the Panchayat meeting was mainly governed by personal considerations and public opinion which the pressure groups had exploited to the maximum. This kept the proposal of the seed centre hanging fire on the agenda of Gumnam Panchayat for more than six months. Pressure groups kept on stoking and fanning the fire, and the Panchas, in their desire to placate the pressure group leaders, went on postponing a decision. The Sarpancha maintained a consistent position, although at every meeting and in his talks in the community he displayed amenability to adjustments and compromise.

The Situation Changes

By November, 1963, the situation began to take a sudden turn in favour of the Sarpancha. Certain unrelated incidents contributed to the pace and

direction of this change. The village Priest, Pandit Prashad, lost one of his young sons (aged four years) who fell prey to smallpox. This mellowed him completely. As the epidemic began to spread, his supporters and admirers began to desert him. The feminine gossips at the village wells and tanks gave currency to the belief that the Goddess had punished the Priest for his sins and that his supporters would also share this wrath of the Goddess.

The same month the money lender and leader of the group, Mr. Gopal, arranged the betrothal of his eldest daughter, Miss Shanti, to a boy in Alwar city whose family had close friendly ties with the Sarpancha's family. This changed the attitude of Mr. Gopal towards the Sarpancha, Mr. Ram, almost overnight. He knew that a word to the boy from Mr. Ram could destroy the prospects of this arranged marriage of his illiterate daughter with an educated young man in the city. He quietened down and tactfully withdrew from the political arena by adopting an attitude of *laisser faire*.

Mr. Sunder, the business group leader, faced another dilemma. He and his younger brother who had a monopoly license for selling sugar had to appear before Panchayat Samiti for its renewal. This was a very critical time of sugar shortage and the Samiti was planning to cut the sugar quota of every dealer by half, unless the Panchayat recommended otherwise. They realized that the Sarpancha, Mr. Ram, might not help them Since their sugar trade was more profitable than the trade in seed grains, Mr. Sunder was forced to abandon his leadership of the opposition group and come to terms with Mr. Ram.

The Sarpancha Seizes the Advantage

With the exit of these three powerful leaders from the political scene, opposition against the Sarpancha began to fade. This further encouraged Mr. Ram in his efforts to overcome his opponents. He was also strengthened in his pursuit by the Pradhan and the block development officer of the Samiti who had the Patwari, Mr. Nathi, transferred from Gumnam Village to another village some two hundred miles away from his home. Thus, after having weeded out the major opponent, Mr. Nathi, Mr. Ram proceeded to bargain with Mr. Lahari, the owner of the piece of land on which the seed centre building was to be constructed. He won him over by assuring him a handsome price for the land. As a matter of compensation, Mr. Lahari was also assured that his only son, who was a minor, would be employed as the depot peon-cum-chowkidar of the seed centre. This security arrangement made the old man so happy that he openly started exploding the conspiracies and concealed lies in which he and the other leader had indulged on behalf of the opposition.

Visualizing it as an opportune time, the Sarpancha called a special meeting of the Panchayat on November 8, 1963. At this meeting, he explained his old scheme in detail and tried to have a real show of strength with the opposition under now favourably changed conditions. This time the meeting was very poorly attended by residents of the Panchayat circle, and no strong or vocal opposition was registered by any of the leaders of the vested interest groups, who were conspicuous by their absence. The Panchas attending the meeting raised only some procedural objections and Mr. Kishan, a senior resident of the village, appealed to all to follow a policy of "forgive and forget" in the interests of harmony and progress.

Concessions and Compromises

The next day the Sarpancha and his supporters started establishing personal contacts with all four Panchas and their close friends. Mr. Ram tried to enlist their support by privately assuring two of these formerly opposing Panchas that a well and a primary school in their respective wards would be provided for in the forthcoming Panchayat budget. He paid a visit to the house of Mr. Govardhan, one of the Panchas from outside Gumnam, and brought pressure upon him to support the seed centre resolution in the next Panchayat meeting. The village Priest, Mr. Prashad, was approached by Mr. Ram with a group of ten people including the School Teacher, Mr. Tusli, to ask his younger brother, Mr. Raghunath, the Pancha previously much under his influence, to support the resolution. After the death of his son and the social boycott that followed, Mr. Prashad immediately welcomed the opportunity to re-enter community life and promised to persuade his younger brother to vote for the resolution.

Thus having persuaded or pressured all four Panchayat Panchas, the Sarpancha, Mr. Ram called the November 28th meeting. He especially invited the Pradhan of the Panchayat Samiti and one other district leader to sit by his side on the Panchayat platform. Before introducing the seed centre resolution for discussion in the Panchayat, Mr. Ram made some announcements on behalf of the block leader present. He said that the Pradhan had come a very long way to break the good news that the Samiti had decided to hand over a children's park and a bull to the Gumnam Panchayat as a Deepawali gift to the village. This was welcomed by the villagers present. The old opposition leaders, Messrs. Gopal, Sunder, Pandit Prashad and Pancha Raghunath, did not attend the meeting although their erstwhile followers were there. Mr. Ram outlined the scheme of the seed centre in more specific detail and announced that the centre would be inaugurated by the District Pramukh on the occasion of Holi in 1964. This was cheered by the audience, and the Panchayat happily and unanimously passed the resolution in the midst of applause for the Sarpancha.

Conclusion

This case study of pressure politics in a traditional panchayat revelas that there are no organized formal pressure groups of any kind in panchayat politics of Rajasthan villages. Whatever pressures operate in practice in affecting decisions by the panchayat are all informal and represent the powerful forces of tradition and vested interests. The vested interests in this particular case could easily unite because both the money lenders and the traders were going to be seriously hurt by this particular decision. But even when these vested interests could join hands in opposition against the village leader, they preferred to leave the leadership of their campaign to a traditional leader like the village priest whose utterances and professional conduct commanded wide appeal and respect among the villagers. The combination of the interest group leaders and the reactionary forces intensified the political pressures and this natural phenomenon could create a situation in which even a very dominating and powerful village leader could not put a progressive measure through the panchayat.

The major technique of the pressure group, as observed in this study, was

door-to-door campaigning against the political leaders. The vested interest groups could bring more effective pressure on the Sarpancha because their combined campaigns had a mass appeal. Moreover the Sarpancha wanted to avoid emotional scenes which his opponents were bent upon creating on the floor of the panchayat. The method of personal vilification of the village leader and his supporters aroused passion and heat which intimidated the other members of the panchayat into silence. Honest and rational explanations about the need and utility of the centre given by the Sarpancha did not prove effective or adequate to counteract the underhand methods of campaigning used by the opposition.

The pressure groups in this specific case worked through a two-way process. Combined, they generated certain forces of passion and emotion which formulated a strong public opinion. On the other hand, the pressure groups lobbied the recognized leaders like the panchas, the priest, the patwari, and their personal contacts and informal pressures deflected these leaders from their loyalty to the Sarpancha. In the former instance, mass propaganda was the weapon of the pressure groups, while in the latter case, opponents exploited conventional relations and traditional prejudices to frustrate the efforts of a popular leader.

The study of group interactions and personal equations in this particular case indicates that in the traditional situation of a small village, unexpected events and conscious effort can neutralize political pressures by diverting them into various conflicting channels. Some of the pressures, which mounted with the unity of the traditional leaders, immediately abated and finally were cancelled out because of the entry of certain imponderable factors such as death, marriage, and a sugar crisis in the village. But the one thing that enabled the progressive forces to take advantage of the situation was the foresight and political acumen of the young leader who could strike while the iron was hot.

It can be concluded on the basis of the case study that a strong leadership can successfully fight the traditional pressures of village politics by maintaining a consistent position for a fairly long time. It is also true that no political leadership, (however strong) can cope with the challenge of opposing pressures without bending itself into pragmatic compromises. A deliberate and conscious attempt on the part of political leaders to make reasonable compromises can take the wind from the sails of the traditional opposition. Political pressures from vested interests and reactionary forces are strong by their very nature in a traditional community, but they do not last long. A strong and determined political leadership can triumphantly meet the challenge, if it adopts a policy of "wait and see" and allows the opposition enough rope with which eventually to hang itself.

APPENDIX

Glossary of Words

BLOCK	A local unit, covering several panchayats carved out for community development programmes.
CHOWKIDAR	A night watchman.
DHAMSHALA	A free village rest house.
DIWALI	A Hindu festival of lights to celebrate the victory of Lord Rama over Ravana, who kidnapped his wife.
GRAM	A village, also called "Gaon" in Hindi.
GRAM SABHA	A meeting of adult village residents.
GRAM SEVAK	Village level worker, a multi-purpose official of a Panchayat.
HOLI	A Hindu spring festival.
PANCHA	Village Councillor.
PANCHAYAT	Village Council.
PATWARI	Revenue Official.
PANCHAYAT SAMITI	Local Council at intermediate-Block level.
SARPANCHA	Elected Chairman of the Panchayat.
PRADHAN	Leader of the Panchayat Samiti.
PRAMUKH	Leader of the Zila Parishad.
VIKAS ADHIKARI	The executive officer of the Panchayat Samiti, also known as B.D.O. or Block Development Officer.
ZILA PARISHAD	The local council for the district covering several Panchayat Samitis.

The Institute of Public Administration and the Staff Training College, Malawi

By C. A. BAKER

Mr. Baker is Principal, the Institute of Public Administration at the University of Malawi.

THE origins and early progress of education and training in public administration in Malawi, from the report of the Localisation Committee in late 1960 to the end of 1965, have already been described in detail in an earlier edition of this Journal.[1] The object of this present paper is to describe the substantial developments which have taken place during the past year and a half.

The Institute of Public Administration became a college of the University of Malawi, informally in October 1966 when the first diploma courses began, and formally in January 1967 when financial and staffing matters became the responsibility of the University. The University of Malawi comprises five colleges; Chancellor College, specialising in degree work in the arts and sciences; Soche Hill College of Education; Bunda Agricultural College; the Polytechnic which conducts diploma courses in business and social studies, engineering, surveying and public health; and the Institute of Public Administration. These colleges are on five different campuses, up to two hundred miles apart. The subject-content and syllabuses of each diploma course are worked out and agreed upon, firstly by "subject boards" (e.g. Public Administration and Law), secondly by "group boards" (e.g. both Public Administration and Law are members of the Social Sciences group board), and finally by the Senate. The basic structure of diploma courses is worked out and agreed upon by the Diploma Committee (the membership of which is the Vice-Chancellor, the Principals of the four "diploma" colleges and one other member of Senate from each of those colleges) and then by Senate.

The Institute conducts two types of course leading to diplomas in public administration, a three-year course and a one-year post-graduate course. In the first year of the non-graduate diploma course, students read public administration, constitutional law, and English as major subjects, and they select two minor subjects from a list which contains French, geography, history, elements of law, statistics, philosophy and "Human Behaviour" (a unified course based on philosophy, psychology and sociology). In the second year, public administration and English again are major subjects and economics is added as a major, whilst one minor subject is taken. The minor subject usually must be different from that taken in the first year, except that some students who wish to specialize in French may take that subject as a major subject through two, or possibly three, years. In the third year, public administration is taken again, economics develops into public finance and development planning, and administrative law is introduced. To these three major subjects is added one minor subject.

[1] Bennion M. J. 'Training for Localisation of the Public Service in Malawi', J.L.A.O., Vol. V, No. 1, January 1966, p 23.

The first term of the second year is spent away from the Institute, and each student is attached to a district headquarters as a junior member of the district commissioner's staff; during this attachment the student is closely supervised and is expected to take an active part in as many aspects of district work as possible. The first term of the third year is also spent away from the Institute, this time in a ministry headquarters. For the graduate students, these attachments are each of one month's duration and take place during the Christmas and Easter vacations, in each case overlapping slightly into the following term. Since the graduate students (unlike those attending the three-year course) are appointed to the civil service before they come to the Institute, they are appointed as assistant district commissioners during their period of attachment to district headquarters, and, as such, exercise statutory powers in the field of tax collection and licensing.

The post-graduate course covers the major subjects, public administration, constitutional and administrative law, and economics with special reference to development planning and public finance, in less depth than does the three-year course, contains no minor subjects and no English, save that "English for Civil Servants", i.e. the preparation of Cabinet papers, minute-writing etc. forms part of the public administration syllabus.

The syllabus in public administration (see appendix at page 392) has been designed so as to combine theory with practice, education with training. To this end, although the rather more "academic" parts are split up and dealt with separately in one or other of the three years, the essentially practical aspects, such as financial orders, stores regulations, public service regulations and administrative techniques, continue through all three years, and the case method is used in all three years. In our determination not to ignore our training functions in our new role as educators, we are continuing to use the training techniques, especially the case method, which we used regularly in our pre-University days.[2]

Provision has been made for civil servants who attended the earlier, nine-months courses in administration in pre-University days, to study for, and sit, the non-graduate diploma examinations, externally. They will be expected to pass the examinations in not less than three and not more than six years from the date of registration. The syllabus and question papers for the external examinations are exactly the same as those for the internal examinations.

With the fast rate of development of Malawi law, particularly in the field of criminal procedure, evidence, and land law, together with a major revision of the statutes, a school of law has been re-established within the Institute. In conformity with the general pattern of degree structure at the University, the first two years will be of general, non-legal, education, the students being allowed to read any of the subjects taught at the University, whether arts or science. The final three years will concentrate mainly, but not exclusively, on law subjects. Although the Legal Practitioners and Education Ordinance (No. 20 of 1965) permits a law graduate, who has passed the Malawi law examination, to practice purely on the strength of his academic qualification in law, it is hoped that some form of practical course, possibly in English, will be available to recent graduates before they begin their careers in law in Malawi.

[2] Baker C. A. 'The application of various Training Methods in Malawi', J.A.O., Vol. V. No. 3, July 1966, p. 177.

This recent development is an important extension to the pattern of legal education which, over the past five years, has become such an essential part of the work of the Institute.

Although professional education, both in public administration and in the law, is now conducted in the University College which bears the name "Institute of Public Administration" the practical training of executive officers, local government and judical personnel has continued without a break in the newly founded, government "Staff Training College", which shares the same premises, facilities and, to a large extent, staff, with the Institute.

Even within the Staff Training College, which continues the training work of the old Institute, there are significant recent developments and promising future trends.

The executive courses are continuing and there are signs that they will tend, in part, to become more specialised. At the moment, for example, there are two executive courses in residence, the one for general duties officers, the other for customs officer cadets, and we have already conducted an executive course specialising in local government matters. There is also a proposal afoot to increase the length of executive courses from six to nine months, now that the immediate problem of acute staff shortage at the executive level is somewhat less pressing.

To the short local government remedial courses we are about to add a twelve months' accounts clerks course moderated by and leading to a certificate of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, similar to the scheme which has so successfully been operating over the past few years at the Kenya Institute of Administration.

A new development has also taken place in the field of judical training. A course has been designed and conducted at the Staff Training College to train "Class A1" local court chairmen. This new class of local courts will have an enhanced criminal jurisidiction and wider powers of sentencing, and in its work and powers will approach the magistrates' courts. The chairmen, like magistrates, will write their own records and will also function as coroners. All members of the first course are very experienced chairmen, who have been trained at the Institute in the past. It is hoped that a series of these quite small courses, of only ten members each, will produce in the next few years a number of highly-trained and experienced "Class A1" local courts chairmen for each of Malawi's administrative districts.

Most members of the lecturing staff teach courses in both the Institute of Public Administration and the Staff Training College. In addition to our resident members of staff, who tend to concentrate on public administration and law, visiting lecturers from other colleges of the University regularly lecture to the diploma courses in history, geography, French and economics. In these ways we hope to take advantage of specialists in a number of subject areas, and also to cement together, in the field of public administration, university education and government training. To this end, also, we continue our earlier practice of inviting each permanent secretary to lecture to the students (Government and University combined) on the organization, policy, plans and methods of their ministries.

It is nearly seven years since the Localization Committee made its report. Since then very large advances have been made in all aspects of government

training, and localization is almost complete. The 'old' Institute, which played so large and vital part in training Malawians to fill essential posts in the public service no longer exists as a single establishment. Its place has been taken by the Staff Training College, which continues the practical training of executive officers, local government and judicial personnel, and by the University Institute of Public Administration, which has taken on the professional education of public administrators and lawyers. In two years' time it is planned that the Institute will move to the new University campus in Zomba, the present administrative capital of Malawi, whilst the Staff Training College will remain at Mpemba.

UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

SYLLABUS IN

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1. *The State in Theory.*
   - Origin, Development, Nature, Purpose and power of the State.
   - The State, Government and Law
   - The State and other Associations
   - Sovereignty
   - Obedience to the State
   - The Social Contract
   - The General Will
2. *The State in Practice*
   - (a) Government
     - General Principles
     - Forms of Government
       - Autocracy
       - Oligarchy
       - Democracy
       - Other forms of Government
         - Nature, Definitions, Merits and Demerits
     - Bicameralism
     - Parliamentary Sovereignty
     - Rule of Law
     - Separation of powers
     - Representation
     - The Referendum and the Initiative
     - Electoral Systems
   - (b) Social Theory
     - Concept of Social Justice
     - Natural Rights
     - Liberty, Equality, Property and other Rights
   - (c) The Constitution of Malawi
     - Development
     - Structure
     - Nature
     - Conventions

3. *Political Parties*
   - History
   - Types
   - Functions
   - Organization
   - The Malawi Congress Party
     - History
     - Organization, League of Malawi Youth, League of Malawi Women, Central Executive, Disciplinary Committee
     - Functions
     - Relations with the Public
     - Elections
4. *The Cabinet*
   - Growth
   - Functions
   - Organization, Size and Procedure
   - Characteristics
   - Position of President
     - the Private Office
   - Cabinet Office
   - Cabinet Committees
   - Collective Responsibility and other Conventions
   - Comparative studies; Britain, France, United States, other African Countries.
5. *Local Government*
   - Nature, Structure and Composition
   - Scope and Functions
   - Areas
   - Laws and By-Laws
   - Central Government relations
     - Principles of Control
     - Methods of Control
   - Local Government Service
     - Characteristics
     - Organization
     - Recruitment and Training
       - Institute of Public Administration etc.
     - Rules and Regulations
   - Comparative Studies; Britain, France, United States, other African Countries
6. *Central Government Departments*
   - Development
   - Allocation of Functions
   - Internal Organisation
   - The Treasury
   - Financial Control
     - Estimates, the Budget, Budgetary policy and Vote Control
     - Government Accounting Systems
     - Audit
     - Financial Orders

Stores Regulations
Advisory Bodies
Establishments
Procedures and Methods
Relations with the Public;
Information Services
Comparative studies; Britain, France, United States, other African Countries

7. *Public Corporations*
Purposes
Development
Advantages and Disadvantages
Powers of Ministers
Powers of Parliament
Powers of the Courts
Consumers' Representation
Comparative Studies: Britain, France, United States, other African Countries.

8. *Administration*
Private Administration compared with Public Administration
Principles
Functions and Methods
Parliamentary Control
Judicial Control
Administrative Efficiency
Comparative Studies; Britain, France, United States, other African Countries

9. *The Civil Service*
Characteristics
Organization
Recruitment and Training
Public Service Commission
Institute of Public Administration etc.
Structure
Methods
Ethics
Legal Position
Malawi Service Regulations
Public Service Commission Regulations
Comparative Studies; Britain, France, United States, other African Countries

10. *District Administration*
The District Administration; History, Organization, Functions and Methods
Administrative Routine
Tax Collection
Census
Land Matters and Surveying
Licensing (liquor, trading, firearms)
Duties of a Commissioner of Oaths

Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages
Loans Boards
Security
District Development Committees
Native Authorities, History, Status, Powers and Functions
Relations between the Malawi Congress Party, the Administration and Local Government System
Comparative Studies; India, other African Countries

11. *Administrative Techniques*

12. *Preparation of Government Papers*
Government Correspondence
Report Writing
Minute Writing
Cabinet Papers

13. *Office Management*
Control of Staff
Maintenance of Buildings
Filing Systems
Typing Pools
Relations with Organization and Methods

14. *Foreign Affairs*
Principles, Relations between States, Nationalism, Internationalism
The Foreign Service
Malawi's Representation Abroad
Foreign Representation in Malawi
The United Nations
International Law
Law and Practice of Diplomacy
Protocol
International Policies of Leading Nations
Malawi's International Policy
Treaties
Economic Co-operation

Quarterly Notes

Sweden – *IULA Stockholm Conference*, 1967

Five hundred delegates from 40 countries discussed "amalgamation or co-operation" in the context of local government reform. The following summary includes the main conclusions reached at the conference:

"The insufficiency of the existing local government structure and local government boundaries is generally agreed upon. Governments should give thorough and systematic attention to the need for and possibilities of local government reform.

Studies on the various aspects of local government reform are an essential basis for reform efforts. Central governments, national associations of local authorities and universities should co-operate in stimulating and undertaking such studies.

Proposals for too rapid and drastic changes are likely unduly to antagonize local government officials and councillors, as well as citizens, and thus to build up strong oppositional forces. Moreover, 'revolutionary' changes are apt to disrupt excessively the existing governmental institutions and therefore affect the continuity of the conduct of public affairs. A phased process of reform is therefore to be recommended, which leaves room for experimentation and for revising the pattern of reform that was originally envisaged, on the basis of the experiences gained in the course of the process.

Local government reform should be a combination of compulsion by central government and voluntary action by local governments themselves. The central or state government legislation should give ample scope for voluntary action by local governments, especially in the field of co-operation. In many cases, however, and particularly in those cases where local governments show an insufficient willingness to solve the problems of modern local government through their own action, the central government will have to interfere, either by national legislation affecting all or large groups of local governments, or by taking action with regard to certain individual local authorities. For the sake of the public interest, central governments should be firm in face of opposition inspired by self-interest.

The local government legislation should be flexible, so as to allow for adaptation to local situations.

Attention should be given to the system of representation, indirect or direct at the various levels of local government. Also, due attention should be devoted to the possibilities of representation on other lines than party political representation.

Devices for increasing interest among citizens in local government and for stimulating their participation in public policy making in an advisory capacity – individually and through citizen organizations – should be developed."

BRITAIN – *Local Government*

In para. 40 of the Mallaby Committee Report on Staffing of Local Government, the recommendation was made that a Local Government Training Board should be established on the lines suggested by the Local Government Examination Board Working Party on the cost of training.

The new Board was officially launched on 22nd September, 1967. The Board membership includes sixteen representatives of local authorities, appointed by the four local authority associations, the G.L.C. and the Employers' sides of the National Joint Councils governing pay and conditions. Thirteen employees' representatives have been nominated by NALGO, the National Union of Public Employees, Transport and General Workers' Union and the General and Municipal Workers' Union. Also on the board are three members specializing in education.

The Training Board will organize and approve training courses, publish recommendations, and carry out research. It will also make grants to local authorities and other organizations who themselves provide approved training facilities.

Expenses will be met by contributions from local authorities which will be levied directly by the local authority associations from the beginning of the 1968/69 financial year. Until then the associations will underwrite the Board's expenses.

The effect of changing techniques on local government and the accompanying need for refresher courses to keep up-to-date with new methods and ideas, was strongly underlined in the Mallaby Report. The Local Government Training Board is a first and most vital step towards putting local government staff in the forefront of modern administrators.

AMERICA – *Local Government Committees in Michigan*

A Governor's Advisory Committee on Local Government has been created on the problems that face local government in Michigan. The Committee consists primarily of mayors, city and township supervisors, and representatives of allied organizations.

In south-east Michigan mayors, councillors and county commissioners from six counties have formed a committee to discuss common problems and explore a voluntary joint council. They may establish co-operative purchasing arrangements and the possibility of substantial savings is indicated in a report by a Detroit urban affairs foundation working on research and action programmes in metropolitan problems in south-east Michigan.

IRAN – *Central Planning in Tehran.* (Information from I.U.L.A. publication *Local Government Abroad*, October, 1967).

"The planners of Tehran are busily engaged on a new and comprehensive master plan for this city of 3,000,000 people, who, in an area of 10,000 acres, pose many problems. Although short of qualified planners, the capital is far more fortunate than other Iranian municipalities in this respect, but the fast rate of growth is a serious problem. The population has doubled over

the last 20 years and the current annual rate is about 7 per cent. In addition the city lacks adequate revenues, although a major change in the system of tax collection is being made.

To facilitate the execution of its plans, the city is divided into the central Municipality and ten zones, each with its separate organization and an independent budget, but supervised by the central Municipality in general policy and development programmes. This degree of decentralization has made for more efficient planning and regard to special conditions in each area, and closer contacts with the public, whose participation through district councils has been most effective."

GHANA – *Public Administration Seminar*

The sixth inter-African Public Administration seminar was held in Accra in November, 1967, sponsored jointly by the Government of Ghana and the Ford Foundation. The subject for discussion was "The task of the public administrator in developing societies in Africa". Senior administrators attended the seminar representing Ghana, Nigeria, Congo (Kinshasa), Kenya, Lesotho, Ethiopia, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania and Uganda. The opening session was addressed by Mr. Modjaben Dowuona, of the Ministry of Education.

CAMEROUN – *Training College for Rural Teachers*

A pilot training college for rural teachers opened recently in Yaounde, capital of Cameroun. Created by the Cameroun Government with Unesco assistance, the new college will principally train teachers as leaders for village communities.

As well as perfecting their knowledge of the basic subjects, the students will take courses in educational psychology, teaching methods, arts and crafts, agriculture and new farming methods, hygiene and health, physical education. Practical instruction is given in the annexes which the college has set up in a number of villages.

In 1967, the college had 70 students; this year, there will be 140, and in subsequent years, 210. It will also organize in-service training courses, and co-operate with other organizations in revising teaching programmes and producing new textbooks designed for village teaching.

CEYLON – *Local Government Service Commission*

The objects and reasons for new legislation are described in the Bill as follows:

"The Local Government Service Commission is as at present constituted a corporate body consisting of nine members, and its powers include not only the appointment, transfer, promotion, dismissal and disciplinary control of the members of the Local Government Service but also the determination of their salaries, conditions of service, qualifications and schemes of recruitment. It is therefore, proposed to repeal the present

Local Government Service Ordinance (Chapter 264) and to enact in its place an Act, the chief features of which are—

(*a*) To change the status of the Local Government Service Commission to a statutory body.

(*b*) To reduce the size of the Commission to five members (including a full-time Chairman).

(*c*) To limit the powers of the Commission to the appointment, transfer, promotion, dismissal and disciplinary control of the officers of the Local Government Service, as in the case of the Public Service Commission and public servants.

(*d*) To set up a Transfer Board to advise the Commission in regard to the exercise of its powers of transfer.

(*e*) To establish a central Local Government Service Pension Fund, a central Widows' and Orphans' Pension Fund and a central Provident Fund.

A Personnel Division in the Ministry will deal with Schemes of Recruitment and Promotion, salary scales and terms and conditions of service."

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION – *Statements Worth Noting*

"Our local governors have got to choose. Either they stay buried in a mass of paper and kid themselves that they aren't acting democratically unless they appoint primary school caretakers, approve all leaves-of-absence and know how many coat-hangers were made last month in the old-people's home (some 6,324 in one case we came across)... Alternatively, the members free themselves to take the real decisions that as democrats they should: in that case they are the sovereign body that they ought to be".

"My personal conclusions, after considering local governors at work, may be summed up as follows. Of course they could do better, even the best of them. They must improve their present working methods, especially the committee system, if they are to get people of the right calibre for local government in future, whether as candidates for election or as recruits to the professional services. This improvement should begin tomorrow."

(Lord Redcliffe-Maud,
Third Gwilym Gibbon lecture,
published in *Public Administration*, Vol. 45).

"Local government institutions become ineffective if they remain static, if they are not regularly reviewed, improved and adapted to the technological and social changes of the society in which they exist. The adequacy of geographical size, of functions and structure, of relations with other organs of government, of local management and local finances, of traditional forms of popular control and participation, all must be examined in the light of the ability of local authorities to undertake many new responsibilities.

This requires an exchange of knowledge between local government practitioners and scholars concerned with urbanization and municipal

administration, as well as a search for lessons to be learned from local government systems and practices in other countries."

Studies in Comparative Local Government, I.U.L.A. – *Rural District Review*, December, 1967.

'Method but not Meaning'

'Cost effectiveness suffers from a philosophical weakness. It holds that one factor – the economic – is fundamental, that all other factors – the social, cultural, and political – are derivative. This is a fallacy known to students of philosophy as the fallacy of reductionism: It reduces the complexity of reality to one of its elements, and offers that one as sufficient reason for the whole . . .

Our society is threatened by any man who knows method but not meaning, technique but not principle – any man who tries to operate in a professional field in which he is unqualified, any man who depreciates wisdom, experience, and intuition.

I am convinced that the cost-effectiveness syndrome is not going to last for ever. Realities will inevitably intrude themselves. Many 'isms' have lasted in this world for periods of time, but finally man outgrows them and absorbs their good features.

At one time the pagan gods ruled the world. Later the kings. Then the warriors, followed by the lawyers. Now it is cost accountants. Ultimately some measure of common sense comes into play. Events tame them and relegate them to their proper place."

(Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover quoted in *Public Administration Review*, September, 1967).

"Administration is the guidance, leadership, and control of the efforts of a group of individuals toward some common goal. Clearly, the good administrator is one who enables the group to achieve its objectives with a minimum expenditure of resources and effort and the least interference with other worthwhile activities."

(William E. Newman quoted by C. L. Sharma in *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4).

"The art of administration is the direction, co-ordination, and control of many persons to achieve some purpose or objective. It is a dynamic art, taking the human and physical resources available in a system of administration and bending them to the achievement of some required goal. It is the central, overall disposition of forces, bringing into focus and consistency of action elements often widely dispersed. It is an art that pervades all levels of organization, binding together the many professions, crafts, and specialities whose contributions, although equally necessary, are not those of management . . . An administrator is consequently one who directs, co-ordinates, and controls the activities of others."

(Leonard D. White quoted by C. L. Sharma in *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4).

'There now exists a situation where aid to developing countries is merely expressed in terms of billions of dollars. There is also an obsession with showing something big and tangible for that money.

Thus a plague of inefficient industrial complexes, deprived of a good supply of efficient technical and administrative skills, is mushrooming next to very depressed rural areas. Industrialized agricultural settlements could play an important role as technical and administrative skill banks in developing countries.

The exodus to the existing cities will stop when life on the land is made more profitable, secure and pleasant. It is there that the seeds of economic and industrial growth ought to be sown and not in the slums of decaying cities.'

Simon Klinger "Agricultural Settlement to Industrialisation" in *Ekistics*, October, 1967.

Book Reviews

Management of Local Government: Report of the Committee on the Management of Local Government under the Chairmanship of Sir JOHN MAUD (now Lord Redcliffe-Maud); *H.M.S.O., London*, 1967; Vol. I, pp. 176; 15s. Also available Vol II **The Local Government Councillor**, pp. 365; £1 5s. 0d. Vol. III **The Local Government Elector** pp. 191; 15s. Vol. IV **Local Government Administration Abroad** pp. 178; 12s. 6d., and Vol. V **Local Government Administration in England and Wales,** pp. 627; £2 2s. 6d.

To all who are concerned in government by Committee, this report is of outstanding importance and great relevance. It matters not whether it is central, provincial or local government: if committees are made use of then this report should be studied. It immediately calls to mind Professor Kenneth Wheare's *Government by Committee* published in 1955. Although the present Report was prepared and presented for the limited field of local government, the research carried out and the conclusions of the Committee are of value and can well be applied over a much wider field. For example in para. 128 appear these words:—"The virtues of committees are at present, outweighed by the failure and inadequacies of the committee system . . . The system wastes time, results in delays and causes frustration by involving committees in matters of administrative detail . . . We see the growth of business adding to the agenda of committees and squeezing out major issues which need time for consideration with the result that members are misled into a belief that they are controlling and directing the authority when often they are only deliberating on things which are unimportant and taking decisions on matters which do not merit their attention." This is typical of the practical approach and the kind of observation made by the Committee in this Report. It should be remembered that this Committee was appointed by the Minister of Housing and Local Government in March 1964 at the instigation of four of the local authority Associations in England and Wales and was partly financed by these Associations. The terms of reference were "to consider in the light of modern conditions how local government might best continue to attract and retain people (both elected representatives and principal officers) of the calibre necessary to ensure its maximum effectiveness". At the same time a separate Committee on the Staffing of Local Government was set up, under the chairmanship of Sir George Mallaby to consider the existing methods of recruiting and using local government officers and any desirable changes. The Committee on Management had in its membership serving elected members and officers of local authorities as well as members who were not directly concerned in local government. The report of the Committee is contained in Volume I but there are four associated Volumes which should not be overlooked or ignored. For the first time enquiries have been conducted by experts to assist a Committee of this kind and the surveys made and the research carried out have been made available in these associated

volumes. Some knowledge of the sort of people who serve local government as members, of their attitudes towards local government and of those of the electorate was required by the Committee. The reports of the enquiries of the Government Social Survey *The Local Government Councillor* and *The Local Government Elector* are published in Volumes 2 and 3. Under Dr. A. H. Marshall, C.B.E. of the Institute of Local Government Studies of the University of Birmingham the research needs of the Committee were planned and his reports of studies of local government administration in Eire, Sweden, Canada and the U.S. of America, the Netherlands and West Germany are set out in Volume 4. Volume 5 contains reports on local government administration in England and Wales and also the results of enquiries into the aldermanic system and the work of children's and housing committees.

Although the Report was prepared in the knowledge that there were serious defects in the present local government structure of areas, authorities and functions – now under consideration by a Royal Commission – the Committee was concerned with the other causes which led them ultimately to say that the country was not getting full value in terms of human happiness for the time spent by the 43,000 men and women members of the 1,450 councils elected to govern the towns, counties and rural districts. They list three main defects. The first that too much day to day administration is performed by council members, leading to an elaborate system of committees and sub-committees and the fragmentation of work amongst too many separate departments. The second is the increasing tendency of Parliament, Ministers and the Whitehall departments to lose faith in the responsibility of locally elected bodies. The third is that in the view of the Committee there is too wide a gulf in local government between the governors and the governed. In consequence the report concerns itself with the reform of internal organisation, reformed relations between central and local government and closer relations between council and public.

The key to the reform of the internal organization is the decision making process, hence the strong criticism of the present committee system. Functional committees and departments have led to a complete absence of centralized control within an authority. The Report advocates the creation of a management policy committee of Council members to undertake the consideration and application of policy. Such a management committee would make recommendations to the Council as a whole and then be responsible for carrying out the policies decided upon by the Council. Under this Management or Policy Committee the Chief Officers would work as a team with the Clerk as head of the authority's paid service. Other committees would be deliberative in character and would not be responsible for day to day administration. The Report emphasises the importance of elected members taking and being responsible for the key decisions on objectives and on the means and plans to attain them but considers that the officers should provide the staff work and advice to enable the members to identify the problems, set the objectives and select the means and plans to attain them. While overall development and control of services should be the responsibility of members, in the view of the Committee, day to day administration of services, the decisions in case work, the routine process of inspection and control should normally be the function of the paid officers and not of the members. At present the result is both inefficient and un-

democratic. Members' concern with detail leaves them too little time to take the more important decisions.

The most novel suggestion on the relation between central and local government is an ingenious way round the doctrine of *ultra vires*. While the rule of law would remain that a local authority must act in accordance with statutory authority, the Committee suggest that local authorities should be given a permissive power by Parliament to meet the needs of the community. This is called a "general competence" enabling them to undertake at their discretion services for the community additional to those provided for by specific legislation. Another new proposal is intended to remove the long delays which now occur in securing amendments to or new law, in relation to the powers of local authorities. The Committee suggest that powers should be given to a "local government assembly" to bring forward 'Measures' similar to the procedure applied to the Church of England under the Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act, 1919.

On the gulf between the governors and the governed the Committee believe that the most important contribution which can be made to bring the public and the local authority into closer contact and to overcome the public's feeling of alienation is to enable the members of the authority to have more time to devote to their constituents and to various social groups and associations in their area. To this end they recommend the use of open meetings, the circulation of local "White Papers" and good reception arrangements at Town Halls for those who seek information.

The whole report is brimming over with ideas, very practical and well worthwhile. Some will need legislation but others could be carried out immediately, given the acceptance by elected members of the basic approach.

Those interested in government everywhere will find the Report very readable, quite outstanding and most practical. It is an invaluable contribution to government and the conduct of our day to day affairs.

G. H. BANWELL

Colonial Development and Good Government, by J. M. LEE, *Clarendon Press*, 1967, pp. 311; 45s.

The secondary title of this erudite book is "A study of the ideas expressed by the British official classes in planning decolonization, 1939–64." It is the type of book which is much needed; there are many books written by ex-Colonial Governors and senior civil servants which inevitably look at the story of the last days of Empire from inside; and it is good for posterity that this story should be subjected also to analysis from outside – and particularly by an expert in the art of government.

But there will be many who will doubt whether Mr. Lee's book really meets this need. He appears to have a poor opinion of the "official classes" – by which he apparently means the Colonial Office, and the Governors and administrative staff in the Colonies. He refers to them as the "ruling classes" and writes of their public school and 'Oxbridge' backgrounds, their operation through "old boy networks", their "upper class interests", and their inter-area snobbery. Some of this may be true in isolated instances and Colonies, but

it is grossly overdrawn. He makes the monstrous allegation that administrative officers were more concerned with their pay, their perks, their social and sporting activities than with the people of the country they were serving. We are given the ludicrous information that "it was socially superior to be posted to the plateau of Northern Nigeria instead of the swamp lands of the Guinea coast". The percentage of bad administrative officers is no greater than the percentage of bad parsons or bad engine drivers; and it is unfortunate that, during his time at Makerere, Mr. Lee does not seem to have met any of the vast majority of administrators who regarded their service as an 'article of faith' – to quote one to whom I have shown this book.

This is not to say that the book is without interest. Mr. Lee has worked under the grave disadvantage of having little access to official records. But he has sensed the transformation of outlook which took place among many of the 'official classes' after the war – and the frustrations which they suffered in trying to open the dead hand of the Treasury. All who were concerned with these matters will agree with his special mention of the two ministers and two civil servants named in the first chapter.

As for the rest of the book – Mr. Lee explains his aim at various points. "The object of this book is to explain the connexion between the assumptions of the official classes and the policy of planned political change for the dependent empire after 1940." "This book is an exercise in explaining how political attitudes which were dominant among the official classes in Britain found their expression in colonial affairs."

But it is not easy to follow the thesis. It appears that it was wrong to assume that economic and social development must precede self-government. And it appears that it was wrong to try and delay the transfer of power until an experienced ruling 'class' had been established in each territory. But it is not clear what alternatives would have been preferable.

It is not the easiest of books to read. Presumably it is intended primarily for students of colonial history – and indeed the book reads more like a series of six separate lectures – interesting and doubtless intelligible in speech – but not so readily digestible by the fireside.

But the book does serve a valuable purpose – if only in stimulating further thought and enquiry. One only hopes that those who read it will look further in order to obtain a fully balanced view of this exciting period in our history. One such book may well be "Burdens of Empire" by two American historians– being published in this country by the Pall Mall Press.

KENNETH BLACKBURNE

Colonial Sequence, 1930—1949, by MARGERY PERHAM; *Methuen & Co. Ltd.*, pp. 340; introduction and index; 55s.

The author needs no introduction and a very large part of the reason is the strength of her reputation built up from her published articles, broadcasts, and letters mainly to *The Times*. These, covering the period 1930–1949, are collected in this book.

The thought had come to me one day, quite unbidden, that a collection of Dame Margery's published articles and letters would make fascinating

reading. Strangely, the next post brought evidence that Methuen had had the same idea.

Fascinated I am, not only by her consistently sure aim when many of those on the ground were not always clear what the target was, but also by her classical style which carries the reader along so easily while never ceasing to communicate her own deep feeling.

There are several themes in this collection, native administration (indirect rule) and the problems posed by the War such as the relations of black and white in Africa, higher education, constitutional development towards independence. There are also historical sections on Ethiopia and the High Commission Territories and one entitled "African Facts and American Criticisms" which originally appeared in Foreign Affairs in 1944 and is especially interesting to read again after more than twenty years of increasing American interest in Africa. However, native administration is the main theme and also the one which will most interest readers of this Journal. Hence and for reasons of space this review will be confined to the subject.

Native Administration started as a pragmatic response to a situation where staff and money were insufficient to sustain direct rule. Commonsense dictated the devolution of local administration to such indigenous authorities as existed and these were tribal and rural. In the conditions of the late 1920s and 1930s Native Administration served its purpose although its natural simplicity became overlaid by too much theorising which among other things sought to claim for it a universal quality. This led in places to some strikingly aberrant applications of the principle of "finding the chief", as the current phrase went, but these exceptions proved the rule that the system was viable in its time.

It had its limitations. It was a system closed, cigar fashion, at both ends. Being tribal, it excluded the educated classes to whom tribalism was distasteful. Being rural, it made no provision for administration in towns. Most important of all, it was not thought of as being linked organically with any concept of state government. These limitations, however, were not felt as barriers until, as a result of the War, pressures began to build up outside them and the subsequent political development in each territory depended a good deal on the timing and method of their removal.

A question which remains to puzzle this reviewer, in considering the internal situations in the former colonies in Africa, is whether there is any significance in the fact that Kenya alone rejected the system of NA and took its own first steps in local government by establishing Local Native Councils as early as 1924.

Native Administration was a phenomenon of its time and is unlikely to appear again. Now it is little more than a name submerged in the generalities of colonialism and imperialism. Critics who make these generalities their stock-in-trade may have missed N. U. Akpan's "Epitaph to Indirect Rule",[1] a thoughtful book which, however, had the benefit of hindsight. They now have another chance to look at a contemporary account by an eyewitness. Dame Margery is one of the very few persons not directly connected with NA who yet perfectly understood what it was about and how it worked. I do not suppose that there is a single former colonial administrator who would

(1) London; Cassell; 1956. (reviewed in Vol. VIII No. 4 J.A.A.)

refuse to accept her assessments and since at the same time she was becoming *persona grata* to the student and nationalist "opposition", what she says, or rather said, must be evidence.

C. A. G. WALLIS

Annual Survey of Commonwealth Law, 1966; General Editor, Professor H. W. R. WADE; *Butterworth*, 1967; pp. 850; £8 8s.

This is the second volume of the Annual Survey of Commonwealth Law which was begun a year ago. I have not seen the first volume, but the present one fully justifies all the commendation that it received. The field that this series covers, in respect both of the manifold branches of the law and of the territories administering them, is colossal. The territories include the United Kingdom itself, and all self-governing dominions and dependencies down to the smallest island. It must surely give to every British lawyer a justifiable feeling of pride that our system of law, both in its general principles and also down to countless of its details, has not only taken root and flourished benignly over so many and such utterly different territories in the world, but continues to flourish and to protect the peoples of those territories after nearly all of them have achieved, some very recently and others more than a century ago, their complete political independence.

It is not possible, within the space allowed, to review except in very general terms a digest such as this, consisting of some 850 crowded pages, in which are set out the legislation and judicial decisions between July, 1965 and June, 1966 in the diverse territories concerned, together with a wealth of learned commentary on them. Among the many fields of law covered are: international law, constitutional law, fundamental rights and liberties, criminal law, evidence, commercial law, taxation, labour legislation, wills, and the laws of family relationship.

Naturally it is in the fields of family and land law that the laws and customs of particular Commonwealth territories, and of the various races inhabiting them, differ from each other most; although even in land law some uniformity is seen to be creeping in as registration of title on a common model comes to be adopted. On the other hand income tax law is almost universally based on the same general (British) model, and the legislators and tax-dodgers may everywhere be seen, each trying to counter the enemy's latest move. In criminal law and evidence it is interesting to note in some less developed territories a tendency to tighten up on the criminal, and to redress what many feel to be the undue weighting of the scale in his favour which has for so long been the tradition in Britain; indeed some legislation to that end in those territories has perhaps anticipated certain very recent proposals in Britain itself.

In the constitutional field the courts have continued to show themselves the guardians not only of law but of order. It will be enough to mention two instances. The judgment of the Privy Council in *Lianage v. R* (1966) 2 W.L.R. 682, where the appellants had been convicted under *ad hoc* legislation which had created their crime and its punishment retrospectively, is a signal instance of the refusal by that tribunal to permit the legislature to usurp functions properly exercisable by the judiciary, even where the frontiers

between the two are not built into the constitution concerned, in that case Ceylon's. And in Rhodesia the High Court, in *Madzimbamuto v. Lardner-Burke* (1966) 4 S.A. 462, by recognizing the validity of acts done under the U.D.I. regime in furtherance of the day-to-day running of the country, though *not* the validity of the regime itself, showed that they preferred robust if illogical commonsense to a legalistic constitutional nicety that would have resulted in a chaotic state of affairs benefiting no section of the community.

This volume records and considers many hundreds of decisions and enactments quite as full of legal or sociological interest as those I have mentioned. They abundantly justify the enormous labour that must have gone into its compilation. In short the whole survey has been superlatively done. The august company of legal contributors have so adhered to their high standards of learning, readability and erudite commentary, that it would be invidious, to single any one of them out for special mention. And the learned editor and his assistants have moulded the contributions into a balanced volume that is at once a monument of industry and legal research and a tribute to the unifying and enlightened influence of British law.

RALPH WINDHAM

Secretariat and Heads of Departments: A Study of their Relationship, by M. R. PAI & G. R. REDDY; *Indian Institute of Public Administration* (Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch, Hyderabad); pp. 181; Rs. 5.

This study is a product of the joint efforts of a senior officer of the Indian Administrative Service and an academecian. The authors, in this small but extremely competent monograph discuss the relationship between the secretariat and the heads of departments, an area which is fast developing into a 'tension zone' in State administration. The starting point for the present study was the existence of two schools of thought on the subject. The Administrative Reforms Committees set up by the Governments of Bombay, West Bengal, Kerala and Mysore recommended the separation of the secretariat and executive offices while the Andhra Pradesh Administrative Reforms Committee suggested their merger.

In Part I the authors describe the roles of the secretariat and heads of departments, the administrative pattern existing in the United Kingdom, France, Sweden, U.S.A. etc., to serve as a background to their discussion. They point out that the roles of the two separate wings of administration in Andhra Pradesh "are not clearly understood and where they are understood are not clearly adhered to". Their relations are not as cordial as they should be. No clear line of demarcation exists between policy-making and executive functions and the present system of overcentralization in the secretariat is causing inordinate delays. The study identifies as causes for delay duplicate noting especially at the clerical level, scrutiny of cases at numerous gazetted levels, repeated and piecemeal examination and meticulous financial control. In the last two sections of Part I, the authors examine the implications of the various solutions offered. They do not support the extreme suggestion of abolishing the Secretariat altogether and making the head of the department the secretary to the minister. While expressing their preference for the

separate existence of the secretariat and executive offices the authors suggest that the top Secretariat posts should not be the exclusive preserve of the generalist civil service.

In order to cut down delays in the Andhra Pradesh secretariat the authors suggest the redrawing of the secretariat hierarchy. "Only by reducing the number of levels, can the level of noting in the secretariat be reduced and when this is done delays would be reduced and decisions expedited." The Secretariat should consist of secretary, joint deputy secretary, assistant secretary and stenographers. (The Ministry of Works and Housing in the central secretariat is currently experimenting with an officer-oriented system). The head of the department should be given ex-officio secretariat status as joint/deputy secretary and his office be located in the secretariat. The revised pattern avoids clerical noting at the secretariat level. Recognising the inadequacies of the existing system, a scheme for the delegation of financial powers and the development of intra-departmental financial competence by providing internal financial advisers, is suggested.

In Part II the important content are twelve case studies with examination in depth of the administrative processes involved. Attention is drawn to the very considerable delays that arise under the existing system.

In the context of the government's commitment to social justice and a high rate of economic growth, delay is no minor matter. Its social and economic costs are very heavy. The inconvenience and irritations caused to the public undermine their confidence in the democratic processes. The tailoring of some levels of the administrative structure and delegation of financial and administrative powers to the lower units may be considered as the first step in the direction of administrative reform. The maladies, however, seem to be more deep-rooted. Beyond all the paper pushing, reliance on precedents, compliance with formal procedures and rules, the attitude of "playing for safety" is widely prevalent. Even where authority is delegated to lower levels, evasion of responsibility in taking certain decisions is noticeable. Perhaps the tendency to evade individual and departmental responsibility and over-consultation is due to over-emphasis on co-ordination and to the exaggerated talk of corruption and widespread public suspicion about irregularities in administration. Quite apart from their relevance to "accountability", circuitous procedures seem to provide a cover for inactivity, reflecting the attitude of many administrators towards work.

C. V. RAGHAVULU

Education for Self-Reliance, by JULIUS K. NYERERE; *Government Printer, Dar es Salaam,* 1967; pp. 26; 2s.

Those who were startled by the stern discipline imposed by the President of Tanzania on the protesting University College students late in 1966 – the President without whose stimulating inspiration the fine University buildings on the hills outside Dar es Salaam would not now be standing, already one of his greatest lasting achievements, will gain some understanding of his action in this short philosophical monograph which expresses his personal views on the role of education in a newly independent country. "Let our students be

educated to be members and servants of the kind of just and egalitarian future to which this country aspires" he concludes.

Dr. Nyerere draws particular attention to the wide gap existing between the educated élite and the rural peasantry whence they have sprung, and the lack of mutual appreciation of each others qualities – the old are not necessarily wise nor necessarily are the educated of integrity and gifted with the ability to weigh up men. The élite are spoilt (and that it is not their fault is emphasised) in the relative luxury of institutions for higher education and the cotton wool treatment accorded to them when they go home and are not expected to engage in rough chores.

Without in any way challenging the general theme, it would be fair perhaps to point out that there have been University students who with delight, resumed the blanket and the tribal cattle chores on vacation in Masailand, there have been others who accepted (albeit reluctantly) temporary rough employment on vacation; there was, especially in the Moslem coastal belt a considerable parental unwillingness to fill existing primary school places, particularly with girls, and to maintain standards III and IV as full as I and II – which certainly lasted well into the era of independence; finally one questions how far it can really be said that colonialist education put emphasis on producing white collar skills as a matter of policy – was not the real problem that teachers who themselves had achieved a personal breakthrough could not be persuaded that an agricultural life was well worthwhile? and so, apart from a few fertile cash crop districts, teachers tended to inculcate their pupils with a desire to be clerks if they could not attain the teaching profession; but this was not colonial policy rather was it an inevitable transitional stage which more effort should have been made to counteract.

Dr. Nyerere's writings – like his speeches – carry one with him by their style and sense of sincere conviction.

P.H.J.

Other Books Received

Staffing of Local Government, *H.M.S.O.* for Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1967; pp. 272; 21s.

Attention is drawn to this, the important Mallaby Committee Report. Part I provides a full picture of the present situation and Part II deals with "Possible Developments" covering recruitment, employment, career prospects, management and training. A central organisation for local Government is considered, staffing within local authorities, staff movements and, finally, a chapter on the Clerk and other principal officers. The recommendations of the committee seek to answer four main questions in respect of the existing local government system.

(*a*) Are its recruitment policies and procedures and career prospects it offers geared to the present educational pattern?
(*b*) Are its training programmes and its managerial structures designed to develop the abilities of officers to the full?
(*c*) Does it make the most economical and efficient use of manpower, so that skills and abilities are properly related to the jobs to be done?
(*d*) Is its internal organization so designed that control is effectively exercised and the fullest use made of modern management techniques, and does it make full use of the opportunities which exist for the exercise of initiative by its officers?

and the proposals made are specifically directed to local authorities and their associations, professional associations, ministries and statutory bodies. There are too many to record in a short notice here, certainly this broad coverage of the whole staffing problem merits a very wide readership.

The Less Developed Countries in World Trade, by MICHAEL ZAMMIT CUTAJAR and ALISON FRANKS; *O.D.I*; with index pp. 209; 30s.

Development Assistance Efforts and Policies, 1967 Review Report by WILLARD L. THORP; *O.E.C.D.*, pp. 209; 21s.

O.D.I. continue to produce a supply of facts and figures about the less developed countries of the world. This invaluable handbook on world trade pays particular attention to the exports of primary commodities, Britain's trade policies, E.E.C. and G.A.T.T. Finally the authors provide a detailed account of U.N.C.T.A.D. – leading to the prospects for the 1968 Conference in New Delhi. They foresee a cocoa agreement, a tariff preference scheme and a scheme for supplementary finance emerging as concrete proposals; they think it wise not to expect too much of the Conference which they consider part of a necessary evolutionary process. The conference will have been held by the time this notice is published and the degree of success achieved will now be a matter of opinion.

Professor Willard Thorp in his valedictory report as Chairman of D.A.C. provides in a more scholarly and less statistical form (almost all the tables are neatly placed as an annexure) a broad picture of the economic record of the less developed countries, the flow of aid both bi- and multi-lateral, and the general problems facing donors and recipients of aid. He draws attention to the response given when people are in dire distress. "The 1966 Indian crop failure led not only to increased flows of aid by governments but to countless individual contributions. Without question, the appeal for assistance is greatest when it is related to hunger, sickness, poverty, and ignorance. However, there still is the danger that meeting this problem will divert either foreign exchange or foreign aid away from more direct uses in increasing productivity." Like the O.D.I. authors, Professor Thorp looks at the prospects for the second U.N.C.T.A.D. and expects active discussion on tied aid, preferences, debt burdens and supplementary finance. He anticipates the less developed countries being better prepared to argue each topic on professional grounds than was previously the case.

Professor Thorp writes with exceptional knowledge and experience in the aid field, and with a basically liberal approach exemplified in his summary when he writes "The problem for countries wishing to provide assistance is also, like that of the recipients, essentially political. It may be that the new appeals for giving greater assistance to the poorer countries for reasons of conscience and human concern will have some effect. The function of a government is to act for its citizens where action is desired

and collective action will be most effective. If it is demonstrated, for example, by increased support for voluntary agencies or more generally through the usual channels of political expression, that it is the popular will to make a greater effort to help the less-developed countries, the knowledge, organization, and the resources exist to carry it out."

Indian Administration, by ASOK CHANDRA. *George Allen & Unwin,* 1967 (second edition); with selected bibliography and index; pp. 247; 18s.

Democracy and Economic Change in India, by GEORGE ROSEN. *University of California Press,* Berkeley, California, U.S.A. and *Cambridge University Press,* 1967; with appendices, index and selected Rank books; pp. 293; 19s. 6d.

Mr Chandra gives a very clear account of how the administrative machinery of the Government of India has developed, with the historical background to the present system and the many facets of financial administration fully and admirably described. In this second edition, while revision has been made to bring the account more up-to-date, it is a pity that there is no specific chapter on the changes since Independence, and only brief mention of local government. It would have been useful if the author had elaborated on the progress made since 1958 and drawn his conclusions about the major administrative problems still to be faced.

While Mr. Chandra explains the Indian administrative system, Mr. Rosen, covering a much wider and more general theme, with the overall picture painted almost a decade later, analyses the political and economic processes that make Indian democracy function. A very great deal of material is assembled and handled with considerable skill. Local government development is touched upon in a few pages – so well drawn that one regrets the brevity. In conclusion the author notes the difficulty of a democratic less-developed country achieving economic growth as successfully as one under a dictatorship – but, as he emphasises "the question is not the form of government, but the quality of its leadership" – and, addressing the United States suggests that the greatest assistance that can be given is support for the leadership of the country in developing new ideas and policies – but how far any donor nation should assist "in developing effective reform-mongering coalitions" is perhaps more questionable.!

Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957 – 1964, by DAVID C. MULFORD; *Oxford University Press,* 1967; 55s.

This is a research worker's account and impressions of the evolution of racial and sectional politics in Zambia covering the seven years prior to independence. The work is based on such miscellaneous unpublished documents as were available to him during two visits made during this period. Painstakingly he follows the political currents and cross-currents; making allowance for an inevitable lack of first hand knowledge of the background, the cause perhaps of some discernible bias, the author has presented an admirable study of an important stage in the history of Zambia.

Education and Development in an Emerging Country, by PATRICK van RENSBURG; *The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden,* 1967; pp. 48; Kr. 5.

The author describes the experiment in secondary education which he and his wife have started at Swaneng School in Serowe, Botswana, where the progress of a new-style civics course will be watched with particular interest – with a patently keen and dedicated staff, success will be well-deserved.

Rhodesia: The Road to Rebellion, by JAMES BARBER; *Oxford University Press,* 1967; Illustrated appendix, index; pp. 338; 42s.

The author who was on the staff at the University College of Rhodesia, has written this objective and balanced history of the immediate pre-U.D.I. years, for the Institute of Race Relations.

Particular value lies in the clear emphasis which James Barber gives and to which insufficient attention has been paid by most other writers of the sad Rhodesian story, to the vital 1962 election when European disillusionment at the end of Federation combined with African nationalist distrust of U.F.P. led by Garfield Todd's successor Sir Edgar Whitehead, to ensure a right wing victory that ended the goal of partnership period and led instead, perhaps inevitably, to U.D.I. and rebellion.

The Political Economy of Rhodesia, by C. ARRIGHI; *Mouton, The Hague*; pp. 59; 12 Guilders.

This admirably produced monograph on Rhodesia was completed in March 1965 and the author in his Preface believes that it "can readily provide a framework for understanding U.D.I. and the failure of sanctions". Maybe it will help, but while this is a scholarly work, it is one which openly sets out to make a preconceived general theory of economics and politics fit the circumstances of one particular country. This approach provides an interesting analysis, but inevitably the picture is very far from complete.

The Political Organization of Unyamwezi, by R. G. ABRAHAMS; *Cambridge University Press;* appendices and index; pp. 208; 50s.

This is the first publication in the Cambridge Studies in Anthropology. While there are passing references to many parts of the Tanganyika mainland of Tanzania, the author concentrates mainly on two particular areas, one in Tabora and one in Kahama District. It is surprising therefore that the devastating effects of Sleeping Sickness receive scant mention; there is no comparison drawn between the relative backwardness of the Kahama chiefs and people and their economy, with that of neighbouring Nzega; Ushirombo (albeit Sumbwa country) is omitted. The Fundikira family certainly claim that there writ once ran as far as Northern Zambia and the Congo – but historically it is only Mirambo of Western Tabora whose power is stressed here.

Mobutu's Congo, by RICHARD GOTT; *Fabian Research Series* 266; pp. 32; 4s.

General Mobutu commanded the Congolese army from the early days of independence and has assumed full dictatorial powers since he deposed both President Kasavubu and Premier Tshombe in November 1965. The author describes the situation that has brought to Congo/Kinshasha under General Mobutu a greater degree of government stability than that previously attained.

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